

THE APOCRYPHON OF
JANNES AND JAMBRES THE MAGICIANS

RELIGIONS IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD

FORMERLY

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DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN

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THE APOCRYPHON OF JANNES AND JAMBRES THE MAGICIANS

P. Chester Beatty xvi
(with *New Editions of Papyrus Vindobonensis* Greek
inv. 29456 + 29828 verso and
British Library Cotton Tiberius B. v f. 87)

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION,
TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

WITH FULL FACSIMILE OF ALL THREE TEXTS

BY

ALBERT PIETERSMA



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This series Religions in the Graeco-Roman World presents a forum for studies in the social and cultural function of religions in the Greek and the Roman world, dealing with pagan religions both in their own right and in their interaction with and influence on Christianity and Judaism during a lengthy period of fundamental change. Special attention will be given to the religious history of regions and cities which illustrate the practical workings of these processes.

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

To ‘Fred’

Σὺ ἄνθος τοῦ πεδίου,
κρίνον τῶν κοιλάδων.
(cf. Song 2:1)

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PREFACE

To the Board of Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library and Gallery of Oriental Art, Dublin, as well as to the Library's current Director, Dr. Michael Ryan, I would like to express my gratitude for permission to publish the Jannes and Jambres papyrus.

My discovery of what has now been officially labeled Papyrus Chester Beatty XVI dates back essentially to the summer of 1971, when I visited the Library for the very first time. It was during this extended visit that my attention was drawn to a variety of hitherto unpublished and largely unidentified papyrus texts in the Library's possession, written in both Greek and Coptic. (For a description of the continuation of the Chester Beatty manuscript series started by Frederic Kenyon the reader should consult my "New Greek Fragments of Biblical Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Library," *BASP* 24 [1987] pp. 37-61.)

Upon request, the late Dr. R. J. Hayes, Librarian of the Chester Beatty granted me rights of publication to these materials and Dr. David James, then in charge primarily of the Library's Islamic collection, generously offered to supply me with photographs, even though he lacked prior experience in manuscript photography. As a result, the process of identifying the unidentified could be carried out at my home base in Toronto. To both I am immensely grateful. (For a preliminary report on the new materials see my "Greek and Coptic Inedita of the Chester Beatty Library," *BIOSCS* 7 [1974] pp. 10-18.)

Seven frames or glasses of fragments, totaling 93, upon examination turned out to belong to an ancient book, written in Greek, on the magicians Jannes and Jambres of 2Tim 3:8 fame, a book which prior to this had been little more than an intriguing title, since a mere 18 lines of its text had been attested, in Latin translation, in a manuscript dating from xi AD.

The existence of an eighth frame of Papyrus Chester Beatty XVI, containing a further six fragments, comprising *inter alia* the initial four lines of the book, was reported to me in 1989 by Dr. Brian McGing of Trinity College Dublin. The frame had recently arrived, among other Chester Beatty papyrus scraps, from the British

Museum and had been astutely identified by McGing as belonging to Papyrus XVI. I am profoundly grateful to him for his generosity in letting me publish what is now Frame 1 along with the rest. (For the total number of fragments at present [= 100] see I.6 below.)

The late Dr. Dermot Ryan, Professor of Old Testament studies at University College, Dublin, long time member of the Board of Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library (Chairman 1978-84), and subsequently Archbishop of Dublin, was unfailing in his enthusiasm for the new finds and unstinting in his encouragement for their publication. I therefore deeply appreciate the invitation extended to me by Professor K. J. Cathcart, Dr. Ryan's successor at University College, to deliver the Dermot Ryan Memorial Lecture on November 28, 1990, at the Chester Beatty Library, on the topic: "A Magicians' Book Recovered: The Chester Beatty Text on Jannes and Jambres." Needless to say, this also provided me with an added opportunity to visit with my magical friends in their present home.

To Dr. Hermann Harrauer of the Papyrussammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek I am grateful for allowing me to examine the four fragments of the Rainer Jannes and Jambres and to include them in the present volume. Pierre Maraval was kind enough to send me his own published version of this text (see III below).

The opportunity to scrutinize the Latin text of our book I owe to the permission of the British Library, London; and Robert Daniel generously send me a photograph of the Michigan text soon after its discovery in 1979. Regrettably, however, its text of ten fragmentary lines remains unpublished to date and, consequently, could not be made to join the other three textual witnesses to *Jannes and Jambres*.

Research and writing presuppose colleagues and consultation. I have benefited from both profoundly, but lest I unwittingly express my gratitude disproportionately, let me just say that many members of the Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of Toronto, have in some way contributed to the present study. A few indeed have heard more about Jannes and Jambres than they ever thought possible. Beyond departmental boundaries I would like to thank John L. Sharpe of Duke University for counseling me on matters of ancient book-binding, Mary Clayton of University College, Dublin, for calling my attention to Biggs, Hill and Szarmach, *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture* 1990, my former student Tony S.L. Michael for compiling the indices to this volume, a task made easier

by the computer but nonetheless very time consuming, and Professor Michael Stone of The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, for reading my manuscript and for making many helpful suggestions. Shortcomings and mistakes that remain are, of course, to be attributed to me alone. I am, furthermore, keenly aware that this editio princeps of P. Chester Beatty XVI is but a first step.

A most helpful and pleasant research companion has been the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae Pilot CD ROM #C. I hereby express my sincere gratitude to the TLG and the Regents of the University of California for placing this vast treasury of information at my disposal. Once having made its acquaintance, one wonders how one could ever have done without!

Financial support for my research at different stages has been given generously by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Humanities and Social Sciences Committee of the Research Board, University of Toronto. My thanks to both bodies for making my work possible.

I am very pleased and grateful that Professors Drijvers, Van den Broek and Versnel saw fit to include my volume in the series Religions in the Graeco-Roman World.

Finally, I want to thank my wife Margaret for having borne so cheerfully, all these years, the presence of Jannes and Jambres in our home. Only a person endowed with magic of her own could have successfully withstood the fierce rivalry from these great magicians.

TORONTO 1993

ALBERT PIETERSMA

ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

For abbreviations not listed below see J. H. Charlesworth (ed) *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*.

I. Modern Publications

1. Books and Articles

AG	<i>Anthologia Graeca</i> (ed. W. R. Paton)
AGD	W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, F. W. Danker, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament</i>
AOSS	Anecdota Oxoniensia. Semitic Series
AS	Acta Sanctorum
BdBF	F. Blass, F. deBrunner, R. W. Funk, <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament</i>
Bidez-Cumont	J. Bidez and F. Cumont, <i>Les mages hellénisés</i>
Buxtorf	J. Buxtorf, <i>Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum et Rabbinicum</i>
CPJ	Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum (edd. Tchirikover and Fuks)
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
FPG	A.-M. Denis, <i>Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum . . . Graeca</i> .
Freudenthal	J. Freudenthal, <i>Alexander Polyhistor</i>
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte
Ginzberg	L. Ginzberg, <i>The Legends of the Jews</i>
HJP	E. Schürer, <i>History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ</i>
HJP ²	E. Schürer, G. Vermes, F. Millar <i>The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ</i>
IDB	Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible

IPGAT	A.-M. Denis, <i>Introduction aux Pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament</i>
Iselin	L. E. Iselin, "Zwei Bemerkungen zu Schürer's 'Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi'"
JEn	Encyclopaedia Judaica 1972
KB	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, <i>Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament</i>
Lampe	G. W. H. Lampe, <i>A Patristic Greek Lexicon</i>
LAOT	M. R. James, <i>The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
Levy	J. Levy, <i>Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim</i>
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. S. Jones, (E. A. Barber), <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i>
LTP	R. G. Cochrane and T. F. Davey, <i>Leprosy in Theory and Practice</i>
Meyer	A. Meyer, <i>Legendes juives apocryphes sur la vie de Moïse</i>
MSB	C. H. Roberts, <i>Manuscript, Society and Belief</i>
ON	G. Hoffmann, <i>Opuscula Nestoriana</i>
OTPs	J. H. Charlesworth, <i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i>
Paap	A. H. R. E. Paap, <i>Nomina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries A. D.</i>
PG	J. P. Migne, <i>Patrum Graecorum cursus completus</i>
PGM	Preisendanz and Henrichs, <i>Papyri graecae magicae</i>
PL	J. P. Migne, <i>Patrum Latinorum cursus completus</i>
PVTG	<i>Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece</i>
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Realenzyklopädie . . .</i>
Radermacher	L. Radermacher, <i>Griechische Quellen zur Faustsage</i>
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen

2. Periodicals

APF	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung</i>
ASNL	<i>Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen</i>
BASP	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
BIOSCS	<i>Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies</i>
BRAH	<i>Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
REG	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
ZWT	<i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i>

3. Other

TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae Pilot CD ROM #C
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II. Ancient Documents

1. Bible-Apocrypha-Pseudepigrapha

ActsCath	Acts of St. Catherine (ed. Viteau)
ActsPil	Acts of Pilate (ed. von Tischendorf)
ActsPP	Acts of Peter and Paul (ed. Lipsius and Bonnet)
GkApEzra	Greek Apocalypse of Ezra (ed. Wahl)
LAE	Life of Adam and Eve (ed. von Tischendorf)
PassPP	Passion of Peter and Paul (ed. Lipsius and Bonnet)
PenCyp	Penitence of Cyprian (ed. AS 47)
QuestBart	Questions of Bartholomew (ed. Bonwetsch)
TSol	Testament of Solomon (ed. McCown)

2. Classics-Patristics

Abdias	<i>Apostolic History of Abdias</i> (ed. Fabricius)
Agapius	Agapius of Mabbug (ed. Vasiliev PO 5)
Ambrost	Ambrosiaster (ed. Vogels, CSEL 81)

Anon	Anonymi auctoris chronicon (ed. Chabot CSCO 81 [txt], 109 [tr])
ApCon	Apostolic Constitutions (ed. Schermann)
Apuleius	Apuleius, <i>Apologia</i> (ed. Helm)
Aretaeus	<i>On the Causes and Symptoms of Chronic Diseases</i> (ed. Adams; references are to Greek and English texts respectively)
BarH	Bar Hebraeus, <i>Chronography</i> (ed. Budge)
CosIn	Cosmas Indicopleustes (ed. Wolska-Conus SC 197)
DecGel	Decretum Gelasianum (ed. von Dobschütz)
Ishoʿdad	Ishoʿdad of Merv, <i>Commentary on the OT</i> (ed. van den Eynde CSCO 176 [txt], 179 [tr])
JohnM	John Malalas (ed. Dindorf CSHB = PG 97)
JohnN	John of Nikiu (ed. Charles)
Numenius	Numenius of Apamea, <i>On the Good</i> (ed. des Places)
OrCels	Origen, <i>Against Celsus</i> (ed. Koetschau CGS 1)
OrMat	Origen, <i>Commentary on Matthew</i> (ed. Klostermann CGS 10)
Palhist	<i>Palaea historica</i> (ed. Vasiliev)
Palladius	<i>The Lausiaca History</i> (ed. Butler)
Philostorgius	<i>Ecclesiastical History</i> (ed. Bidez GCS 21 = FPG)
Pliny	<i>Natural History</i> (ed. Jones)
Psdion	Pseudo-Dionysius of Telmahre (ed. Chabot CSCO 91 [txt], 121 [tr])
Scholiast	Anonymous scholiast (ed. Hoffmann)
Theodore	Theodore bar Koni (ed. Hespel and Draguet CSCO 431)
Zosimus	Zosimus of Panopolis, <i>The Last Receipt</i> (ed. Berthelot)

3. Dead Sea-Josephus-Rabbinics

Ant	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> (ed. LCL)
Apion	Josephus, <i>Against Apion</i> (ed. LCL)
Ber	(TB) Berakot
BhM	Bet ha-Midrash (ed. Jellinek)
CD	Damascus Document (ed. Davies)

ChronJ	Chronicles of Jerahmeel (ed. Gaster)
ChronM	Chronicle of Moses (ed. Jellinek BhM 2)
ExR	Exodus Rabbah (ed. Shinan)
Men	(TB) Menahot
MhG	Midrash ha-Gadol (ed. Margulies)
MPM	Midrash Petirat Mosheh (ed. Jellinek BhM 1)
MW	Midrash Wayyosha ^c (ed. Jellinek BhM 1)
PRE	Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer (ed. Braude [Heb], Friedlander [Eng])
ShY	Sefer ha-Yashar (ed. Dan [Heb], Noah [Eng])
SSK	Sefer Shalsheleth ha-Kabalah (ed. Venice)
Tan	Tanhuma (ed. Zundel)
TB	Babylonian Talmud (ed. Epstein)
TPsJ	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (ed. Rieder)
War	Josephus, <i>The Jewish War</i> (ed. LCL)
YalR	Yalqut Reubeni (standard edition)
YalS	Yalqut Shimeoni (standard edition)
Yom	(TB) Yoma
Zeb	(TB) Zebahim
Zohar	Sefer ha-Zohar (ed. Simon et al)

III. Other Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
BLCot	British Library Cotton Tiberius B. v fol. 87
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
NTG	Novum Testamentum Graece
VL	Vetus Latina

I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

THE JANNES AND JAMBRES LEGEND: THE QUESTION OF ORIGIN

More than a century ago Jacob Freudenthal suggested, in his famous book *Alexander Polyhistor und die von ihm erhaltenen Reste jüdischer und samaritanischer Geschichtswerke*, that the Jannes and Jambres legend derives from the Hellenistic Jewish writer Artapanus who, as is well known from the fragments of his work preserved through Polyhistor, had great interest in the story of Moses and his experiences at the Pharaonic court. As a basis for his theory, Freudenthal took a passage from Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica* (9, 8) which contains a quotation from the Greek philosopher Numenius of Apamea (ii AD), *On the Good* bk 3, regarding our two magicians:

Τὰ δ' ἐξῆς Ἰαννῆς καὶ Ἰαμβρῆς Αἰγύπτιοι ἱερογραμματεῖς, ἄνδρες οὐδενὸς ἥττους μαγεῦσαι κριθέντες εἶναι, ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίων ἐξελαυνομένων ἐξ Αἰγύπτου. Μουσαίῳ γοῦν τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ ἐξηγησαμένῳ, ἀνδρὶ γενομένῳ θεῷ εὐξασθαι δυνατωτάτῳ, οἱ παραστῆναι ἀξιοθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὔτοι ἦσαν, τῶν τε συμφορῶν, ἃς ὁ Μουσαῖος ἐπῆγε τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ, τὰς νεανικωτάτας αὐτῶν ἐπιλύεσθαι ὥφθησαν δυνατοί (F 9).

Next in order were Jannes and Jambres, Egyptian sacred scribes, men judged to be second to none in the practice of magic, at the time when the Jews were being driven out of Egypt. These then were the men who by the Egyptian people were deemed a match for Mousaios who led out the Jews, a man who was very powerful in prayer to God. And of the calamities which Mousaios brought against Egypt, they showed themselves able to undo (even) the most violent.

Noting that the Jannes and Jambres tale in general is reminiscent of “Artapanische Dichtung” (p. 173), Freudenthal found his particular clue in the fact that Numenius calls Moses “Mousaios.” This form of the name, he concluded, could only have come from Artapanus, since only Artapanus relates that Moses was so called by the Greeks.

The well-known German scholar, Emil Schürer, (HJP 3, 150) did not find Freudenthal's evidence convincing and believed that the legend, rather than having originated with Artapanus in Egypt,

hailed from Palestine instead. Solomon Schechter's publication of the Damascus Document (1910), which in 5, 18-19 contains the fascinating phrase "Yhnh and his brother," has, of course, significantly strengthened Schürer's supposition regarding a Palestinian origin. But even if it be true that the tale was started, as now appears assured, on Palestinian soil, some formative influence from Artapanus on the subsequent development of the legend need not be precluded. Could Artapanus perhaps have been responsible for the writing of the book called *Jannes and Jambres*, which according to both Schürer and Bidez-Cumont (2, p. 14 n. 23) took place in Hellenistic times? Quite clearly, however, Freudenthal's theory, based on the name "Mousaios," is unequal to such a conclusion. Though it is true, of course, that according to Artapanus Moses was called by this name among the Greeks, in Artapanus' own narrative "Mousaios" never appears, thereby weakening considerably any meaningful connection with Eusebius' excerpt from Numenius. At most, Artapanus shows familiarity with the Moses = Mousaios equation.

L. E. Iselin (ZWT 37 [1894]) has sought to bolster Freudenthal's theory by having recourse to an obscure source reference in Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography* (xiii AD). The passage in question, which Iselin takes from the Arabic rather than the Syriac version, states that Moses upon adoption by Pharaoh's daughter was entrusted to two wise men, Jannes and Jambres, for instruction in wisdom. This information, according to Bar Hebraeus, which, though absent from the Pentateuch but known to the Apostle Paul, was derived from *ʾrstmwyns*. Since no writer with the name of Aristomenes or such like is known, Iselin reasons, Bar Hebraeus' text must be based on a corrupted notation of source, the correct form of which can be retrieved by consulting the universal history of the Syriac writer Dionysius of Telmahre (ix AD), a work known to have been used, directly or indirectly, by Bar Hebraeus.

The first passage in Dionysius deemed relevant by Iselin says that Moses, aware of Chenephres' plot, killed the assassin sent against him and fled to Arabia where he married Raguel's daughter. This information is then attributed to *ʾrtmnws*, which upon comparison with a very similar passage in the *Chronicon Paschale* (vii AD) is clearly to be read as Artapanus.

The second passage Iselin selects mentions, according to his interpretation, Chenephres, Moses and Jannes and Jambres as contemporaries, and designates Chenephres as the Pharaoh who

perished in the Red Sea. Since the first passage dealing with Chenephres is attributed to Artapanus—so Iselin's argument runs—the second one dealing with the same individual must come from the same source even though no assignation is made. Moreover, this appears to be confirmed by Bar Hebraeus' note on Moses and the magicians, which is attributed (though in a corrupted fashion) to Artapanus. Hence the Hellenistic Jewish author, as Freudenthal had suggested, seems to have been the originator of the legend about Jannes and Jambres.

In point of fact, there is no need for Iselin to appeal to Dionysius of Telmahre (or rather, according to more recent scholarship, Pseudo-Dionysius, a writer of the preceding [viii] century) for proof that Bar Hebraeus' story derives from Artapanus. As is well known, Bar Hebraeus' Arabic chronicle of world history, cited by Iselin, was preceded by a Syriac version which, generally speaking, gives a much fuller account of events. This is true as well for the Moses story. Whereas the Arabic version, except for the reference to Jannes and Jambres as teachers of Moses, follows the meagre biblical account of his early years in Egypt, the Syriac clearly draws on material we know from Artapanus, though evidently not all manuscripts agree in every detail. Thus Budge in vol. 1 of the *Chronography* translates Bedjan's edition of (Paris) 1891, but this text deviates to some degree from ms Bodleian Huntingdon 52, a facsimile of which Budge provides in his second volume. In the following citation the plusses in Bedjan's text are given within parentheses:

When he [i.e. Moses] was born, he was cast into the river, and the daughter of Pharaoh Amonpathis, whose name was (Thermothisa who is) Ra'osa (whom the Hebrews call Damaris), the wife of Kanpara the king (of Mapas), found him and saved him from the waters and brought him up as her own son. And when he was ten years old Jannes [*yⁿnys*] and Jambres [*ymbrys*] taught him wisdom, as Artamonis [*rtmwynys*] shows in his Epistle; this is not written in the Book of the Law, but the Apostle Paul mentions it. (Cf. Budge 1 p. 12 and 2 p. 5r)

Bar Hebraeus then continues the Artapanus account in a somewhat confused fashion telling his readers that the Pharaoh (rather than Moses) was responsible for the building of Hermopolis (a deviation from Artapanus also attested by Theodore bar Koni [CSCO 55 p. 150] and Agapius of Mabbug [PO 5 p. 673]) and that he forced the Israelites to do the work. Subsequently, he (i.e. Pharaoh Amonpathis) conquered the Cushites and married Ra'osa(!) the

daughter of Zoros king of Cush. The people, however, ascribed the victory to Moses and maintained that Moses had taken the Cushite princess to wife. As a result, Kanpara(!) became jealous of him and wished to kill him. According to ms Bodl. Hunt. 52, Moses outwits him and flees to Raguel in Arabia. Bedjan's text, however, more elaborately states that Kanpara was unable to take any action against Moses until his wife Damaris had died. More interestingly, it also relates that Kanpara commissioned a certain Khanothis to kill Moses but that Moses killed the assassin instead and then fled to Arabia.

It is obvious in spite of some confusion in Bar Hebraeus' account that we have here Artapanus' Moses story. Artapanus alleged that a certain Chenephres (= Kanpara) was king over the region "above Memphis" (= Mapas) during a period when many kings ruled in Egypt, and that this Chenephres was married to Merris (= Damaris), Pharaoh's daughter. Because Moses was honoured by the Egyptians for the many benefits he had bestowed on Egypt, Chenephres became jealous and sought to put him out of the way. First off, he put Moses in charge of an army of farmers and sent him on a campaign against Ethiopia in the hope that Moses would become a war casualty. Instead, Moses founded the city of Hermopolis, and after the Ethiopians out of love for him adopted circumcision he returned safe and sound to Egypt. Next, when Moses and a certain Chanethothes (= Khanothis) were charged with Merris' burial in Upper Egypt (the city of Meroe was later named after her), Chenephres commissioned Chanethothes to get rid of Moses, but instead Chanethothes was killed by Moses. Moses then flees to Raguel in Arabia. Thus Artapanus. What is missing in his account is that Moses marries the daughter of the king of Ethiopia; however, this detail is well known from Josephus (*Ant* 2, 252-53), who calls her Tharbis. Also clearly derived from Josephus is "Thermothisa" which equals his "Thermouthis" (*ibid.* 224).

Some of the confusion in Bar Hebraeus' version of Artapanus is cleared up when we consult the Syriac chronicle of Michael the Syrian (xii AD) which served as Bar Hebraeus' chief source. Interestingly, the longer version of Bar Hebraeus as given in Bedjan's text turns out to be superior to that of Bodl. Hunt. 52. Michael calls the Pharaoh in question Amenophnathis, therefore siding with Bar Hebraeus (as well as Pseudo-Dionysius and the tenth century Arabic chronographer Agapius of Mabbug) against Artapanus' Palma-

nothes. The Pharaoh's daughter is called Thermothisa i.e. Ra'osa, known among the Hebrews as Maris (*m'rys*) which directly reflects Artapanus' Merris. Kanpara, Maris' husband, is said to be king of Mapas (Memphis). Then the information on Moses having been entrusted to Jannes and Jambres for his education is ascribed to Artamonis (*ʿrtmwynys*). No reference is made, however, to any "epistle" by Artapanus nor to the alleged absence of the information from the Pentateuch but its presence in Paul. In passing we may note that Budge in his translation of Bar Hebraeus supplies Acts 7:22 for the reference to Paul. But since Stephen's statement in Acts that "Moses was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians" can scarcely be ascribed to Paul, 2Tim 3:8 may be more appropriate, even though it does not speak of Moses' education. Indeed, Bar Hebraeus' version of Moses' education can best be understood as a fusion of the two biblical passages. Writers as far back as Origen noted Jannes and Jambres' absence from the Pentateuch.

Apart from Pharaoh's name and the detail about Moses' marriage to the Cushite princess, both of which items he shares with Bar Hebraeus, the account of Michael reflects Artapanus throughout.

We can agree with Iselin that the source reference in Bar Hebraeus should be read as Artapanus. In fact, on the basis of what we have shown, there can be no doubt about this. Moreover, Artapanus' Moses story is well known from Syriac literature generally. Not only do we find it with minor variations in chronographic sources such as Bar Hebraeus, Michael the Syrian, Pseudo-Dionysius and Anonymus (xiii AD), but the same story is known from Bible exegetes such as Theodore bar Koni (viii AD; CSCO 55 [pp. 149-50] and 431 [p. 151]), Isho'dad of Merv (ix AD; CSCO 179 [p. 2ff.]), an undated scholiast (Hoffmann p. 132) as well as a later commentary dependent on Isho'dad (CSCO 484 p. 174f.).

What the immediate source was of the Syriac version of the Artapanus tale is not known. Chabot (CSCO 121 p. 17 note 7) has intimated that it was the *Chronicon Paschale*, since he has plausibly derived "Ra'osa"—the supposedly Egyptian name of Moses' step-mother, which curiously in some sources was ascribed to the Cushite princess (Moses' wife) as well—from (αὐτῇ . . . Μερρί στεί)ρα οὐσα of ChronPas p. 116. More likely, as Iselin suggests on the authority of H. Gelzer, the two are based on a common source. Whatever the precise avenue by which it entered Syriac literature, the relative popularity of Artapanus' Moses story cannot be questioned, as has

been shown by Sebastian Brock (JJS 33 [1982] pp. 237-55) in greater detail than is necessary here.

We must now return to Iselin's argument in support of Freudenthal's thesis that Artapanus was responsible for the tale of Jannes and Jambres. There can be little doubt that in the chronicles of both Bar Hebraeus and his predecessor, Michael the Syrian, the note on Jannes and Jambres as teachers of Moses is attributed to Artapanus. Indeed, in both authors this seems to be the *only* information explicitly assigned to him, in spite of the fact that their entire Moses account, in which the source reference is embedded, derives unmistakably from him. In Pseudo-Dionysius, however, the reference, rather than appearing *in medias res*, stands at the conclusion of the Artapanus material, namely after Moses' flight to Raguel in Arabia. And this is exactly where the *Chronicon Paschale* has it. Only some dozen chronological entries later in Pseudo-Dionysius, are we told:

In year 490 [of the era beginning with Abraham], the king of Egypt died and Chencheres reigned for sixteen years. This was he who waged a contest with Moses, with the help of Jannes and Jambres the magicians. It was about this one that Moses said: He drowned Pharaoh and his army in the Red Sea [Ex 15:4]. (Cf. Chabot p. 18, Syriac p. 23)

But no such entry appears in the *Chronicon Paschale*. Indeed, even though the Egyptian magicians who opposed Moses are mentioned on several occasions, they are never named. Moreover, Iselin's linking of the above passage in Pseudo-Dionysius naming the two magicians with an earlier note in the same work which says that Moses, aware of Chenephres' (*knpr*²) deceit, killed his hitman, which closely parallels the version of the *Chronicon* likewise attributed to Artapanus, must be rejected since Knkrys (Chencheres) and Knpr² (Chenephra) are clearly not the same individual. Consequently, there is nothing that links the two passages in Pseudo-Dionysius; therefore, they may well have come from entirely different sources. In Pseudo-Dionysius, Chenephra (= Chenephres of Artapanus) is king of Memphis during the reign of Amenophthes (cf. Agapius, Michael and Bar Hebraeus) who is said to have reigned from year 400 to 430. During his reign several local kings ruled in Egypt (cf. Artapanus who calls Chenephres "king of the region above Memphis"), including Palmanothis (= Artapanus' Palmanotheres) king of Heliopolis. Already in the *Chronicon Paschale* is Palmanotheres so designated, though Artapanus' extant text is ambiguous on this point.

Chencheres, on the other hand, who makes no appearance in the *Chronicon*, does not ascend the throne of Egypt until year 490, after two intervening kings, Oros and Achencheres. Moses is said to have fled under Oros and returned under Chencheres. All three names are, of course, well known from Manetho's eighteenth dynasty. Isho'dad of Merv adheres to a similar distinction between the Pharaoh and Chenephres. In comment on Ex 4:19 he writes that Moses had fled Egypt "out of fear for Pharaoh and Chenephra," but since Chenephra and others who were out to kill him had died, it was safe for him to return.

One last point may be mentioned against Iselin's covert but untenable identification of Chenephra and Chencheres with Chenephres. The Chenephres of Artapanus was the first to die of elephantiasis, so Artapanus alleges. Unless the Syrian fathers were totally ignorant of this piece of information readily available in Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica*, it is not likely they would have had him drown in the Red Sea instead. Moreover, Michael the Syrian for one was well aware that Eusebius himself had designated Chencheres as the Pharaoh who drowned.

Though many sources name Jannes and Jambres as the magicians who withstood Moses—in Syriac we may note Dad-Isho (vi AD) cited in Solomon of Basra (ON p. 55), Pseudo-Dionysius, Theodore bar Koni and Anonymus, and some (other) writers make them teachers of Moses, Isho'dad, Agapius, Michael, Bar Hebraeus, Anonymus and Scholiast—no source earlier than Michael associates them in any way with Artapanus. It seems well-nigh certain, therefore, that this connection is due to nothing more than a misplaced source reference or a mistaken inference, or both. Exactly how this happened is no longer discernible, but the typical chronicle-format with its recurring entries for individual years may well have played a role.

Having found Iselin's arguments in support of Freudenthal's thesis wanting, we may well ask whether there is evidence which makes it unlikely that Artapanus had anything to do with the creation of the Jannes and Jambres legend? Indeed, such evidence does exist, in our judgement.

The chief argument against any direct Artapanan connection with the creation of the tale of our two magicians arises from their total absence from the excerpts of Artapanus' work in our possession. Admittedly, when one seeks to draw conclusions about what

an author said or did not say on the basis of excerpts from excerpts of his writing, there is reason for caution. Moreover, that we do not have the *ipsissima verba* of Artapanus is patently obvious when we compare Clement's *Stromata* version with that preserved in Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica* (see FPG p. 192). Nevertheless, even when all due allowances have been made, we are still faced with an extensive, detailed, continuous narrative, spiced with numerous uniquely attested names, events and other nuggets of information, covering the entire period from Moses' adoption to the drowning of the Egyptians in the Red Sea, but not a syllable is breathed about Jannes and Jambres, either in connection with Moses' initial appearance before the king or in connection with the blow by blow account of the plagues. Nor for that matter do they make their appearance during the period before Moses' flight to Midian. Must we assume, then, that if Artapanus wrote the Jannes and Jambres story as a separate work, he did not so much as mention their names in his main narrative on the life of Moses? Such a conclusion is not impossible, provided we posit further earlier and later phases in Artapanus' career; but for this there is even less evidence than for his connection with the Jannes and Jambres tale. But even apart from the names themselves, a single item, either from the book or the traditions on the magicians, has yet to present itself, establishing an unmistakable link with Artapanus.

Moreover, again on the negative side, we might briefly call attention to the form of the name "Moses," with which Freudenthal launched the present argument. Throughout the Eusebius (Polyhistor) excerpt we find the unique form ΜωσσοϚ, a form which, precisely because of its uniqueness, is likely to stem from Artapanus himself rather than from his transmitters. The double occurrence of the same spelling in the introductory lines to fragment 1 of Ezekielus Tragicus, which immediately follows Artapanus in Eusebius, is due, as Mras has noted (GCS 43¹ p. 524), to a slip by Polyhistor under influence of Artapanus' spelling. In the extant fragments of the book on Jannes and Jambres, on the other hand, we find only the usual variations in spelling, namely, ΜωσηϚ (and ΜωωσηϚ) (P. Chester Beatty) and ΜουσηϚ = ΜωσσηϚ (P. Vindob.), but never ΜωσσοϚ. Though this evidence is not weighty enough to preclude absolutely any association between Artapanus and the legend of our two magicians, it hardly enhances the likelihood of his authorship.

When all the heterogeneous pieces of evidence have been duly

weighed, our path is reasonably clear: for the origin of the legend about our two magicians we should, with Schürer, look away from Artapanus as its author and Egypt as its setting. Instead, the earliest evidence for its origin points to Palestine and seemingly inner-Jewish conflict under Hasmonaeen rule. As will become clearer later, it is equally doubtful that Artapanus was responsible for the writing of the book about Jannes and Jambres. All of this is not to preclude that the account of Moses in Egypt as he told it could not have exerted a measure of influence on the shape of the tale. But that is a matter *quod est demonstrandum*.

CHAPTER TWO

THE EVIDENCE OF THE DAMASCUS DOCUMENT

The year 1910 saw the publication of Solomon Schechter's book on the Cairo Geniza manuscripts of what later became known as the Damascus Document and now commonly bears the siglum CD. Though the manuscripts Schechter published are mediaeval in date, they are held to contain a work of much greater antiquity. CD 5, 17b-19 contains what has, since 1910, been interpreted to be the earliest known reference to our two brothers. Its text runs as follows:

כי מלפנים עמד משה ואהרן ביד שר האורים ויקם בליעל את
יחנה ואת אהיהו כמזמתו בהושע ישראל את הראשונה

For in earlier times Moses and Aaron arose with the help of the Prince of Lights, while Belial raised up Yoḥanah and his brother in his cunning, when Israel was saved the first time.

This same passage is now known as well from Cave 6 of Qumran, albeit in fragmentary form (DJD III 15, 3; Plate XXVI), and possibly also from Cave 4 (see further below). Who Yoḥanah and his brother were thought to be, other than opponents of Moses and Aaron, is not immediately obvious from our present vantage point. Were they or were they not the mighty Egyptian magicians whose acquaintance we have already made?

Since the appearance of Schechter's book, CD has been the subject of extensive scholarly discussion, much of it, as P. R. Davies points out in a recent book-length treatment (*The Damascus Covenant* [1983]), as an integral part of Qumran studies. In his Introduction Davies includes an excellent survey of scholarship since 1910. His own approach to CD, however, is to examine it in its own right rather than within the strict confines of Qumran literature. Indeed, he concludes that the community which gave rise to the document should be labeled pre-Qumran.

Naturally the date as well as the origin of CD 5, 17b-19 is inextricably linked to the continuing discussion surrounding CD as a whole. What one labels original to CD and what is judged to be secondary, as well as questions of *Sitz im Leben* and time of writing, fluctuate to an extent with the results of one's analysis of the

document in its entirety. For our present purposes no full-scale analysis of CD would seem called for. In what follows our focus will be as narrowly as possible on Yoḥanah and his brother.

One prominent scholar to have subjected CD to detailed study in recent years is Jerome Murphy-O'Connor. In an article devoted to CD 2, 14-6, 1, which appeared in RB of 1970 (pp. 201-29) and bears the title "An Essene Missionary Document?," he labels our passage "the dualistic section" (p. 224) and considers it to be an interpolation into his Missionary Document (= 2, 14-6, 1; modified in a later article to include 6, 2-11 [RB 92 (1985) 223-46]). For him this Missionary Document forms the nucleus of what is generally known as the Admonition or Exhortation (1, 1-8, 21; 19, 1-20, 34) and was intended to win converts in Palestine to the Essene movement which had its origins in Babylonia. The reason Murphy-O'Connor offers for considering 5, 17b-19 an interpolation is two-fold: 1. the passage plays no function in the argumentation at hand in the context, and 2. its theme is intimately associated with an earlier and more lengthy addition to the Missionary Document, namely 2, 2-13 which in his view functions as a theological introduction to the work and, like the historical introduction of 1, 1-2, 1, redirects the document from outsiders to insiders, i.e. members of the community. As such, Murphy-O'Connor suggests, it attempts to prevent apostasy from the group by castigating *inter alia* the evil of following false leaders. It is from this perspective that he views 5, 17b-19. Since both introductions are counted by him as Qumran additions, presumably the same holds true for 5, 17b-19. What is important for our purpose is Murphy-O'Connor's recognition that 17b-19 has to do with the question of leadership, albeit within the community of the Essenes rather than Israel as a whole.

Murphy-O'Connor's first objection to 5, 17b-19, namely that it plays no role in the argumentation of the context, naturally stands or falls by what one thinks this argumentation to be and how one reads 17b-19. For Murphy-O'Connor 5, 15b-6, 1 is meant to illustrate the warning issued in 15a: "he shall not go unpunished"; in other words, since God did not let the guilty go unpunished in the past he will not do so in the present (or the future). In similar vein M. A. Knibb wrote regarding 5, 17b-19:

It may well be, as Murphy-O'Connor suggests, that this passage is intrusive in its context. It is noticeable that this tradition is not really

used to illustrate the principle that God did not in the past let the guilty go unpunished. ('Exile' p. 110)

The caution one detects in Knibb's statement is fully justified, since there seems little reason to focus on the principle of retribution to the exclusion of 17b-19, in view of the fact that the latter is readily intelligible as simply one more instance of Israel's waywardness (this time at the outset of her history) for which punishment was presumably meted out. That is to say, just as Israel committed all the other acts of apostasy enumerated in 4, 12-6, 1, so she followed false leaders rather than Moses and Aaron, at the time of the exodus. Moreover, the immediately preceding lines, citing Isa 27:11 and Deut 32:28, speak of Israel's lack of understanding, of which 17-19 can be read as an apt illustration. With good reason Davies writes in comment on 5, 20ff.:

. . . the opening criticism of lack of understanding (V,17) is illustrated by one historical reference only, that of Moses and Aaron and their opponents. The example is perfectly chosen; Moses and Aaron, as founders of the covenant and its law, represent divinely-inspired leadership. Against them were false leaders who led Israel astray. (*op. cit.* p. 121)

Israel's apostasy, so vividly described in our text, comprised the entire pre-exilic period, i.e. from her exodus out of Egypt, the beginning of her nationhood, to her deportation to Babylon. No matter what one prefers to emphasize, the list of evils or 17b-19 as direct illustration of 17a, the passage makes excellent sense where it stands—provided one does not prematurely equate Yoḥanah with the Jannes of later tradition.

Murphy-O'Connor's second objection to 5, 17b-19 derives its weight from his first. Since the passage is judged not to fit its present context, does it perhaps align itself with other additions to the Missionary Document? Murphy-O'Connor answers in the affirmative. We have already noted that he forges a link with 2, 2-13 which similarly speaks of guilt incurred by following false leaders. But since this motif must constitute the essence of the link, his argument fails to convince. Furthermore, the incentive for establishing the kind of connection which Murphy-O'Connor makes disappears when one realizes that there is no need to excise 5, 17b-19 from its present setting.

Knibb, although maintaining his earlier caution, nonetheless in

The Qumran Community continued to regard 5, 17b-19 as “probably secondary” (p. 46). His first reason parallels Murphy-O’Connor’s, namely that the passage does not fit the argument of the context. His second, however, cites specifically its dualism as a problem. In his own words:

... it [5, 17b-19] is characterized by a dualism—the contrast between the activities of the prince of lights and of Belial ...—which is alien to the context (p. 46)

We have already touched on the substance of Knibb’s (and Murphy-O’Connor’s) first objection. If one sets aside the facile equation of Yoḥanah and his brother with Jannes and Jambres, the *Egyptian magicians* of later literature, there is no difficulty in reading the passage in question as an instance of apostasy at the very beginning of Israel’s nationhood. Put another way, only if one reads the passage as referring to the Egyptian magicians does it lose its sense in the context. We may recall here that for Davies it perfectly illustrates 17a.

Knibb’s second objection appears at first sight more difficult to answer. It is true that we have in our passage the most explicit statement of dualism in CD, but the difference between it and what precedes is not a question of kind but rather of degree. Quite clearly, Belial as the supra-human cause of Israelite apostasy has already been on the scene since 4, 12 and, consequently, in the entire section preceding our passage we can justifiably speak of an *implicit* dualism. It is quite clearly Belial who introduced the stumbling blocks which brought about Israel’s downfall, in the same way that he raised up Yoḥanah at the time of the exodus. That Belial’s opposite number is not explicitly mentioned until 5, 18 may simply be a matter of lack of occasion. Whatever the precise reason, the dualism of 17b-19 though more explicit is scarcely at variance with the surrounding text. Indeed, it might be described as its culmination.

Though, as we have seen, there is ample reason to question the conclusion by Knibb and Murphy-O’Connor regarding the intrusive nature of 5, 17b-19, one may well wonder whether determining its primary or secondary nature manages to solve the central problem raised by them. Even if one were to label it an interpolation, one would still need to uncover an interpolator’s reason for adding it, since the latter too presumably intended to make sense, albeit perhaps with an emphasis different from what he had before

him. Knibb shows awareness of this demand on the modern exegete in noting that “Jannes [sic] and his brother” may have been seen “to typify opposition to the true representatives of God, and this theme is an important element in the context” (*ibid.* p. 46). It is important to note, however, that throughout what precedes the writer is concerned with opposition to God not in a framework of universal humanity but rather within the confines of the people of Israel. Hence the focus is not universal but strictly national, continuing the author’s line of demarcation between apostate Israel on the one hand and the faithful (Qumran) remnant on the other. It is difficult to see how anyone, whether author-redactor or interpolator could imagine that opposition to Moses (God) by a pair of *Egyptian* magicians could have anything to do with the argument of 4, 12ff. (The kind of paradigmatic role Knibb hints at, which presupposes a lengthy prior development of the legend [for which we lack all evidence], fails to explain the patently Jewish name of Yoḥanah, and in any case is unnecessary once scholarly interpretation sheds the shackles of the Jannes and Jambres tale.) If the passage is to have any meaning in its current setting, surely the minimum requirement is that the wicked pair be accorded an Israelite following, and there is good reason to suggest that, as well, they themselves were perceived as apostate Israelites. (Knibb now agrees that the passage is not an interpolation and that the two brothers are portrayed as Israelites [correspondence dated May 15, 1990].)

Though Murphy-O’Connor’s link between 5, 17b-19 and 2, 2-13 must be considered too tenuous to be maintained, there exists nonetheless a passage in CD with which the former has an intimate connection and which, consequently, can assist us in developing a proper perspective on 5, 17b-19. The passage in question, 3, 5-6, reads:

ובניהם במצרים הלכו בשרירות לבם להיעז על מצות אל
ולעשות איש הישר בעיניו

And their [Jacob’s sons’] children in Egypt walked in the stubbornness of their heart, plotting against the commandments of God and each person doing what was right in his/her own eyes.

Clearly, what we have in both 5, 17b-19 and 3, 5-6 is a tradition about Israel’s apostasy in Egypt which is at variance with the account in the book of Exodus. To be sure, in Ex 5:21 Israelite leaders castigate Moses when his efforts on Israel’s behalf result in a worsen-

ing of their lot, but this reference can hardly be construed as the kind of apostasy of which we read in CD. Other biblical passages, however, do represent a tradition more akin to CD than the portrayal in Exodus. Ezek 20:7-8 speaks in strong language of the Israelites worshipping Egypt's idols and of their rebellious refusal to mend their ways, to the point that God nearly destroyed them instead of leading them to the promised land (cf. also 23:3). In similar vein Josh 24:14 speaks of Israel's ancestors serving the gods of Egypt. As is clear from Ginzberg *Legends* 2, 345 and Moore *Judaism* 2, 362, traditions of Israel's wickedness in Egypt lingered in post-biblical (Rabbinic) literature. (See for example ChronM p. 33, ShY 71:13-15, 80:37-39 and ExR I. 8.) That the apostasy tradition in CD should align itself with Ezekiel should occasion no surprise in view of the important role this book plays elsewhere in CD.

If the reading of 5, 17b-19 in the light of 3, 5-6 is correct, the two passages deserve equal treatment at the hands of literary critics. That is to say, if 3, 5-6 is not excised, then one should be wary of excising 5, 17b-19, since both portray Israel's waywardness in Egypt, even though the particulars vary.

We now turn to the question of who Yoḥanah and his brother were thought to be, if not Jannes and Jambres the Egyptian magicians of later literature. Appropriately, Davies' interpretation of 5, 17b-19 led him to call Yoḥanah and his brother "false leaders who led Israel astray," not committing himself on whether these false leaders of apostate Israel were themselves Israelites. Murphy-O'Connor, although dislodging the passage from its present context, not only counted them as false leaders but also, by citing the proselyte strand of the Jannes and Jambres tradition, intimates that they were portrayed as Israelites ("Missionary Document" p. 228). That Yoḥanah and his brother are indeed meant to be seen as Israelites is doubtlessly correct, but whether they were such by conversion seems open to question.

The conversion of Jannes and Jambres to which Murphy-O'Connor has recourse is but one strand of tradition about the two magicians. In a seventeenth century collection of midrashim known as the Yalqut Reubeni we are told (in comment on Ex 7:11) that when the magicians saw all the signs and wonders performed by Moses they came to him to become proselytes, and against God's explicit directive Moses admitted them. Consequently, they became the leaders of the "mixed multitude" (Ex 12:38) which accompa-

nied Israel out of Egypt (YalR Waera 19a; see below I.3.25). And again, in comment on Ex 32:11, we are informed that Jannes and Jambres out of animosity arising from their frustrating performance against Moses submitted to circumcision and were thus enabled to become the real culprits in the golden calf extravaganza at Sinai (YalR Ki Tissa 81a; see I.3.31). Twice elsewhere in Yalqut Reubeni we meet up with them at Sinai (Ki Tissa 80a, 85a; see I.3.32, 33); and they are also encountered there in Tan Ki Tissa 19 (see I.3.30). On the other hand, in YalR Beshallah 38a on Ex 15:7 they perish unconverted at the Red Sea (see I.3.27), and this tradition is also attested in YalS Beshallah 14 (235) (see I.3.26), ChronJ 54, 8 (see I.3.27), MW p. 52 (see I.3.28) as well as in King Alfred's version of Paulus Orosius' *History against the Pagans*. In similar vein, a less amply documented strand of tradition has them executed together with their father Balaam and the princes of Midian in accordance with Num 31:8 (Zohar Balak 194a; cf. ChronJ 48, 13; see I.3.29). In other references they perish but it is not stated how, when or where. As will be argued later, in the book called *Jannes and Jambres* Jannes died in Egypt and Jambres seemingly was also not present at the Red Sea.

It is of course not impossible that the conversion tradition is an old one, though it is certainly equally possible that the proselyte strand arose relatively late, for the purpose of making Jannes and Jambres, the stereotypical opponents of Moses, responsible, in addition to their other crimes, for Israel's idolatry at Sinai, which is in fact the only episode in the desert wanderings with which they became associated, apart from their death in the company of their father. Since the first passage dealing with their conversion is taken from the Zohar (Ki Tissa 191a) and the second is similarly ascribed to Tiqqune ha-Zohar (5 [142a]), it seems assured that the tradition is at least as old as the thirteenth century. The real question is, on the one hand, how much older than the thirteenth century the conversion tradition is and, on the other, whether Jannes and Jambres are an integral part of it or, instead, are intruders, as they patently are in certain other tales centering on Moses. It is certainly of considerable interest that ExR XLII. 6 (in comment on Ex 32:7) gives us precisely the same tradition as the Zohar about Moses' stubborn acceptance of proselytes, equated with the "mixed multitude" of Ex 12:38, and their subsequent responsibility for the golden calf idolatry. But Jannes and Jambres are conspicuous by their absence! To

be sure, Tanḥuma Ki Tissa 19 already states that when four thousand of the “mixed multitude” demanded of Aaron that he make them a god, Jannes and Jambres, Pharaoh’s magicians, were among them. However, the parallel passage from Tanḥuma Buber (13) does not breathe a syllable about our pair. Moreover, neither version of Midrash Tanḥuma explains how and why it was that the “mixed multitude” had accompanied Israel out of Egypt. Does the presence of the motley crowd at Sinai presuppose the conversion tradition? And even if one answers this question in the affirmative, one may question whether Jannes and Jambres are original to the Tanḥuma tradition.

Finally, it should be noted that, according to the conversion tradition, Jannes and Jambres became proselytes *after* their defeat by Moses. One may well wonder whether such counterfeit converts, who came on side only after their failure against Moses, could be viewed by any one as credible leaders of apostate Israel at the time of the exodus—unless one expand CD 5, 19 to include the desert wanderings (but note the balance with the exile in the very next lines). All in all, it seems highly doubtful that the conversion of Jannes and Jambres is as early as Murphy-O’Connor’s suggestion demands.

There is little doubt that if no Jannes and Jambres tradition had been known to modern scholars, Yoḥanah and his brother in CD would not have been transformed into Egyptian magicians who succeeded in leading Israel astray. Instead they would simply have been labeled hitherto unknown Israelite leaders of apostate Israel at the time of the exodus. Unfortunately, however, the equation, pure and simple, of Yoḥanah and his brother with Jannes and Jambres dates back as far as Schechter’s edition of 1910 and has been repeated ever since. To a large extent, this equation has stood in the way of an unfettered interpretation of 5, 17b-19, even though the leadership role of the two brothers has proven incontrovertible. If we now also recognize that in CD they were Israelites instead of Egyptians, the reading of the passage becomes at once more meaningful. Several scholars have rightly seen that it reflects inner-Jewish conflict sometime during ii/i BC. The strikingly Jewish name “Yoḥanah” begs for a historical explanation, and indeed several identifications have been suggested. Molin (1951 p. 207) and Dupont-Sommer (1962 p. 130) thought the reference might be to Hyrcanus II (63-40) and his brother Aristobulus II (67-63), and Moraldi (1971 p. 238)

favoured Aristobulus I (104-103) and Alexander Jannaeus (103-76). Unfortunately, however, these identifications were based on Schechter's simplistic equation.

Only on the assumption that Yoḥanah and his brother are Israelites does their typological role become properly focused. It is the name Yoḥanah that links the past example to the present reality. Just as Yoḥanah and his brother were Israelite leaders who led Israel astray in Egypt, so a contemporary Yoḥanah and his brother are the apostate leaders of contemporary apostate Israel with its headquarters in Jerusalem.

If what we have argued is correct, how is it then that subsequent tradition pictures Jannes and Jambres as Egyptian magicians? That Yḥnh and Jannes are linguistically identical or nearly so can hardly be doubted. It makes sense, therefore, to posit that the Jannes and Jambres tradition had its origin in Yoḥanah and his brother. Their ethnic transformation is less clear but in all probability it was simply a question of a minority tradition, namely that of Israel's apostasy in Egypt, being absorbed by the 'official' account of Israel's stay in and exodus from Egypt. It is not difficult to see that once the opposition of Yoḥanah to Moses had freed itself from the parochial setting of CD, it might be construed as the confrontation between Moses and the Egyptian magicians as related in Exodus. Only the name of Moses' chief opponent remained, in that case, to recall the original setting. Contributing factors in this development may well have been the ever increasing stature of Moses and Jewish cultural apologetics, as well as perhaps Jewish interest in magic. It is further feasible that Jewish difficulties in Egypt during the early Roman period helped shape the tale into a more pointed polemic against the government in power. Indeed, we will argue presently that the *book* about Jannes and Jambres was written in this climate. Evidently, the Jannes and Jambres tale served as a paradigm for government, applicable to differing circumstances.

Finally, some speculation on who the Yoḥanah and his brother of ii/i BC were may not be out of order. If we focus *exclusively* on the name, John Hyrcanus I and II become prime candidates since both bore the Jewish name of Yehoḥanan. Alexander Jannaeus, on the other hand, becomes unlikely from this perspective since his Jewish name was Yehonathan. When, however, attention is directed beyond the name to the entire phrase "Yoḥanah and his brother," it becomes clear immediately that we should look for a Jewish leader

during ii/i BC who, while in office, was flanked by a brother. From this point of view neither the two Hyrcanuses nor Alexander Jannaeus are likely nominees. The most convincing pair that presents itself among the individuals we know is the Maccabee brothers Jonathan and Simon. Indeed, 1 Maccabees, the official account of the rise of the Hasmonaean dynasty, several times speaks of action by “Jonathan and Simon his brother” (cf. 9:33, 37, 65, 10:74) and similarly with Simon as the chief actor (cf. 13:8, 14, 15, 25). Throughout they act in concert. Moreover, the majority of scholarship has identified Jonathan as the “Wicked Priest” of Qumran literature and CD is clearly related to the latter even if it be labeled pre-Qumran, as Davies argues. Furthermore, the approximate date suggested by literary analysis such as that of Davies and Murphy-O’Connor clearly supports our identification better than any other. This is especially true if (with Davies and now Knibb) one holds that 5, 17-19 is original to the Admonition. The place of composition of this document, however, (whatever its precise limits) as yet remains a subject of scholarly disagreement. Davies thinks it was Babylonia but majority opinion, including Murphy-O’Connor, prefers Palestine. That 5, 17b-19 in any case was written in Palestine seems assured. Moreover, if our passage is original rather than secondary, as we have argued, we have here additional proof for Palestine.

The one admittedly serious obstacle we meet, to an equation with the Maccabee brothers, is the form of the name Yḥnh in CD—at least in the text from the Cairo Geniza. Can this refer to Jonathan? J. A. Goldstein (AB: *I Maccabees* p. 67ff.) has recently argued that confusion between “Yonatan” and “Yoḥanan” is indeed possible and does occur. In support he refers to Neh 12:11 where a certain individual is twice called Yonatan (= LXX) while in vv. 22-23 he is named Yoḥanan (= Yehoḥanan of Ezra 10:6). 2Mac 1:23 may be added here as siding with Neh 12:11. Also of interest is that in Neh 6:18 (= 2Esdr 16:18) MT reads “Yehoḥanan” but the majority of Greek witnesses supports “Yonatan,” and the latter is also read by many witnesses (against MT) in 4Rgns 25:33. It may be *à propos* as well to note that John Hyrcanus’ friend in Josephus Ant 13, 293-95 is called Jonathan in some manuscripts but Johannes in others. Possibly in our Greek texts, including Josephus, the interchange of names is due to inner-Greek corruption, but such an

explanation is not convincing either on palaeographical or phonetic grounds.

Goldstein further argues that the hypocoristikon “Yannay” can represent both “Yonatan” and “Yoḥanan” as is clear from a dispute he cites between Abaye and Raba (TB Ber 29a) over whether Yannay and Yoḥanan were the same person. Abaye affirmed the identification but Raba disagreed. Additional evidence may be gleaned, according to Goldstein, from the eighty-year reign ascribed to a high priest named Yoḥanan in TB Ber 29a and Yom 9a, a tradition (says Goldstein) which treats John Hyrcanus (Yoḥanan) and Alexander Jannaeus (Yonatan) as a single individual. The time span, however, from John Hyrcanus’ coming to power (135/4 BC) to the death of Alexander Jannaeus (76 BC) falls well short of 80 years and perhaps for this reason J. Derenbourg *Essai* (p. 80 note 1) had suggested that “Yannay” was applied indiscriminately to all Hasmonaeen rulers. Goldstein may be correct but it is also possible that we should count from the accession of Jonathan “Maccabaeus” to the high priesthood (153/152 BC) till the death of Jannaeus (76 BC), which yields 78/77 years. A confusion of the two Jonathans would be quite understandable. Nevertheless, the Talmudic tradition speaks of Yoḥanan, hence pointing us to evidently yet another confusion of the two names in question; and it seems probable that the same confusion underlies the identical allegations leveled against the mothers of John Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannaeus (Ant 13, 292 and 372 respectively).

Whether the confusion of “Yoḥanan” and “Yonatan” in the instances we have noted occurred directly or via a shared hypocoristikon is uncertain. That it occurred can nevertheless scarcely be doubted.

As is now commonly agreed, no numismatic evidence from the reign of Jonathan, Simon’s brother, is available. Consequently, we cannot ascertain the official form of his Hebrew name. Similarly uncertain is the form of the name in question in the CD fragment from Cave 6, since it has been restored in its entirety on the basis of Geniza evidence. If, however, Wacholder and Abegg’s (*A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls* Fasc. 1) reconstructed fragment from Cave 4 (D^d 2, p. 28) stands up to scrutiny, יחננה is assured at Qumran, and should no doubt be considered original to the passage. Some deliberate obfuscation on the part of the author of CD 5, 17b-19 cannot, however, be ruled out. Moreover, sparsity

of overt historical references may be said to be characteristic of Qumran literature.

In light of the evidence currently at our disposal, the historical identification we have suggested, even though far from assured, would seem more plausible than those made to date.

In conclusion, the question we posed at the outset of our discussion must in any case be answered primarily in the negative: Yoḥanah and his brother of the Damascus Document are *not* the Jannes and Jambres, Pharaoh's magicians, of subsequent tradition, even though the earlier pair fathered the later. This conclusion is assured irrespective of our present success (or lack thereof) in identifying the historical Yoḥanah who gave rise to the tradition.

CHAPTER THREE

DEVELOPMENT OF THE TRADITIONS

By i AD the fame of at least the first of our two magicians had spread sufficiently to attract the attention of the Roman author Pliny the Elder (AD 23/24-79) who in his *Natural History* (30. 2. 11) included a passage on magic among the Jews:

est et alia magices factio a Mose et Janne et Lotape ac Iudaeis pendens, sed multis milibus annorum post Zoroastrem.

There is yet another branch of magic, derived from Moses, Jannes, Lotapes, and the Jews, but living many thousand years after Zoroaster. (transl. W. H. S. Jones LCL)

For an explanation of the name “Lotapes” see C. C. Torrey, JBL 68 (1949) 325-27. Approximately a century after Pliny, a second Latin (pagan) author included Jannes in a list of famous magicians. Apuleius (floruit AD 155) in his *Apologia* (or *De magia*) (90) writes as follows:

. . . ego ille sim Carmendas uel Damigeron uel his Moses uel Iohannes uel Apollobex uel ipse Dardanus uel quicumque alius post Zoroastren et Hostanen inter magos celebratus est.

. . . I am ready to be any magician you please—the great Carmendas himself or Damigeron or Moses of whom you have heard, or Jannes or Apollobex or Dardanus himself or any sorcerer of note from the time of Zoroaster and Ostanen till now. (transl. H. E. Butler [1909])

Most interesting of references in pagan authors, however, is the note preserved in Eusebius from Numenius of Apamea, which we have cited above (I.1). Origen (Cels 4, 51) gives supplementary information when he reports that Numenius (*On the Good* bk 3) ἐκτίθεται καὶ τὴν περὶ Μωϋσέως καὶ Ἰαννοῦ καὶ Ἰαμβροῦ ἱστορίαν (F 10) (“also sets forth the story about Moses and Jannes and Jambres”), a statement which suggests that the pagan philosopher had, in fact, narrated the tale of the two magicians in rather greater detail than Eusebius’ quotation would otherwise lead us to believe.

What Numenius’ role was in the development of the Jannes and Jambres story remains unclear. It may be assumed that his account

is based on extensive literary traditions regarding the two magicians and/or that he was familiar with the book called *Jannes and Jambres* which we know existed at least as early as iii AD and probably was written well before that time (see I.6). Certainly of interest is that Numenius' claim that our magicians "showed themselves able to undo (even) the most violent (νεανικωτάτας)" of the plagues which Moses brought against Egypt, appears to contradict the plain meaning of the biblical account. The magicians of Egypt, we are told there (Ex 8:18 [Hebrew 14]), were able to follow Moses' act only to the second plague inclusive, and no early author, apart from Numenius, gives evidence of contradicting the Bible. Later Jewish literature, however, introduced some modification. According to YalS Waera 8 (184) (cf. Ginzberg 2, 354f.), Pharaoh's magicians tried to imitate Moses and Aaron for the first five plagues and were partly successful. They were able to produce the plagues but could not make them disappear. As a result, they suffered at their own hands. It is distinctly possible, of course, that Numenius was merely guilty of quoting out of context, though whether he did so deliberately or not is an interesting question. According to one of the Chester Beatty fragments, when Moses and Aaron were amazing everyone in Pharaoh's presence with their feats, Jannes was sent for to oppose them. Subsequently "when Jannes had come to the king, he withstood Moses and his brother by doing what *they* had done" (Frame 3a + → 9-12 = Vienna B 3-5). What precise role this passage plays in the book remains to be discussed. The point to be made here is simply that Numenius could have had written warrant for saying what he did and may well have been acquainted with our book *Jannes and Jambres*. That the fragment speaks only of Jannes while Numenius mentions both, hardly stands in the way of such a conclusion.

In order to get some sense of what the scattered literary traditions tell us about the activities of Jannes and Jambres, we will give a brief overview of their tale. At the outset it should be noted, however, that the names of our two magicians were introduced into an ever increasing number of stories centered on Moses. Thus, for example, they even found their way into the biblical exodus account itself. At Ex 7:11 ms 799 informs us that Egypt's σοφισταί were Jannes and Jambres, and F^b* claims that these two were pre-eminent among them. Consequently, we should not expect to discover consistency either among the various elements of the traditions or between the

traditions and the book which at some stage was written about our magical pair:

1. In opposition to Moses and Aaron, Belial raised up Yoḥanah and his brother at the time of Israel's exodus from Egypt. (CD 5, 17-19)
2. Balaam and his two assistants (TPsJ on Num 22:22) or sons (*passim.*), Jannes and Jambres, the magicians, were advisers at the court of Pharaoh king of Egypt, when the king became hostile to the Israelites.
3. Moses, who married an Egyptian woman, the daughter of Jothor (Jethro) chief priest of the Greeks and held in honour by the king, lived during the reign of Pharaoh Petissonius. This Pharaoh had at his court mighty magicians named Jannes and Jambres, whom he appointed to compete in magic with Moses and Aaron in the presence of the king and his nobles. Moses' snake devoured the snake of Jannes and Jambres, and when they changed the Nile's water into blood, Moses through prayer brought the river back to normal. "And also some other things they did in competition with each other." When Pharaoh in spite of Moses' demonstration of divine power refused to release Israel, God sent plagues in answer to Moses' prayer. The story continues until Pharaoh's death inclusive but the magicians do not reappear. (JohnM *Chron.* 30; with some variation this story is repeated in Cedrenus)
4. Pharaoh Petissonius "that is, Pharaoh Amosius" had with him the magicians Jannes and Jambres with the aid of whose book he ruled. (JohnN *Chron.* 30; Syncellus also calls the Pharaoh Amosius but Jannes and Jambres do not appear)
5. Jannes and Jambres assisted Chencheres in his opposition to Moses, and it was he who drowned in the Red Sea. (PsDion vol. 1 p. 18)
6. Once when Pharaoh was asleep he saw in a dream weighing-scales with his entire kingdom in the one balance and a lamb in the other; and the lamb outweighed the kingdom. Upon waking, the king sent for his magicians and related to them his dream. Jannes and Jambres, their chiefs, told the king that his dream meant that an Israelite child would be born who would bring about the destruction of the entire land. (TPsJ on Ex 1:15; parallel accounts elsewhere have different respondents: ChronM p. 26 "one of the princes," ShY 67:11-20 "Balaam,"

ChronJ 43, 1-2 and YalS Shemot 1 [164] “one of the eunuchs,” MhG Shemot 1 Pharaoh’s “sorcerers and magicians,” PRE 48 “the magicians”) (Cf. also Vita Jeremiae 8-9)

7. At the age of ten (“twenty” in Scholiast; neither Agapius nor Anon gives Moses’ age), Moses was entrusted by Pharaoh’s daughter to Jannes and Jambres for instruction. (Isho’dad on Ex 2:10, Agapius p. 673, Michael bk 3, 2, BarH vol. 1 p. 12, Anon vol. 1 p. 47, Scholiast p. 132; Isho’dad, Agapius and Scholiast specify the “wisdom of the Egyptians” [Acts 7:22] as being divination and magic)
8. In the third year after the birth of Moses, when Pharaoh was seated at table with his queen on his right, his daughter Bathia on his left and his chiefs, Balaam and his two sons included, before him, the child Moses, seated with Bathia, removed the king’s crown and placed it upon his own head. Both the king and his chiefs were astonished and upset. Balaam then reminded Pharaoh of the king’s previous dream and its interpretation. He called to mind that Moses was a Hebrew and that he was endowed with God’s spirit which had prompted him to do what he did. “This is the one,” said he, “who will destroy Egypt.” His advice was to dispose of Moses forthwith, and the king and his friends were in full accord with Balaam’s counsel. God, however, sent an angel in the guise of one of the chiefs to dissuade the king from shedding innocent blood and from killing a child who had acted without forethought. If one were to place before the child, counseled the angel, a gem and an ember and he should happen to take the former in preference to the latter, that would prove that Moses had acted with premeditation and should therefore be executed. This counsel met with general approval, and when the child was subjected to the test, the angel directed him to take the ember, against Moses’ own better judgement. With it he touched his lips and the tip of his tongue and so contracted his (well-known) speech impediment. (ShY 70:1-31; though the crown episode is also known, with variations, from ChronM pp. 30-31, ChronJ 44, 8-11, Tan Shemot 8, ExR I. 26, MhG Shemot 2, MW p. 41, Palhist pp. 227-28, SSK 21, MPM 128, YalS Shemot 2 [166] and Ant 2, 232-37 [and, consequently, Christian writers such as Ps-Eustathius, Syncellus, Zonaras and Peter Comestor], only ShY includes Balaam’s two sons, but does not name them)

9. When Balaam realized that his advice would not be heeded and that his scheme to destroy Israel would come to naught, he and his two sons, Jannes and Jambres, went to Niqanos king of Cush. When the king had to leave home in order to campaign against “the Easterners,” he put Balaam and his sons Jannes and Jambres in charge of the royal city in his absence. Balaam, however, created disaffection toward the king, had himself proclaimed sovereign and procured positions of authority for his two sons. The defences of the city were strengthened, and when the king returned from the campaign trail, its gates remained barred against him. For nine years the siege continued—until the king died. Moses meanwhile had been forced to flee Egypt and had entered the camp of the king of Cush. He became beloved by the king and popular with the troops, and when the king died he was persuaded to succeed him. The besieged city proved no match for the new king’s cleverness and when it fell Balaam and his sons returned to Egypt. (ChronM pp. 33-36; this episode has parallels, with variations, in ShY 70-73 [which never mentions Balaam’s sons by name], ChronJ 45-46 and YalS Shemot 2 [168] [both of which name them once and explicitly attribute the tale to Sefer ha-Yashar], SSK 22 [Balaam’s sons are not named])
10. Upon arrival at Pharaoh’s palace, Moses and Aaron found it guarded by two lions at the entrance. Only a charm from the guards at the king’s behest could gain a person entry into the palace. Nothing daunted, however, Moses with his staff cast a spell on the beasts, and when he and Aaron made their way into the royal abode, the two lions accompanied them like obedient dogs. The king was astonished and filled with fear because the two intruders had the appearance of divine beings. In reply to Pharaoh’s question regarding the purpose of their coming, Moses and Aaron issued the divine demand to let the people of Israel go. The king bade them return the next day for an answer, but as soon as Moses and Aaron had left, he summoned Balaam and his sons Jannes and Jambres. Balaam advised that Moses and Aaron be put to the test to determine their authenticity. (ShY 79:20-31, ChronJ 47, 5-6, YalS Shemot 5 [176]; ChronM p. 39 has the same story and mentions Balaam’s sons but does not name them)
11. Balaam derived his power from the letters **ב**, which signify his

- sons Mamre and Joḥani. (YalR Balak 4b; from “a midrash”)
12. Jannes and Jambres told Pharaoh that the gods of Egypt were mightier than the god represented by Moses. The two magicians were able to turn their staffs into snakes, in imitation of Moses, but were at a loss when Moses made his hand leprous. Repeatedly, while the plagues were taking place, they prevented the king from releasing the Israelites. (Palhist pp. 231-34)
 13. Jannes and Jambres matched the signs performed by Moses and Aaron (TPsJ on Ex 7:11-12) and Moses was ridiculed for bringing magic to the home of magic, i.e. Egypt. (Men 85a, ExR IX. 7)
 14. Jannes along with Moses and several others was a well-known magician. (Apuleius 90; cf. Pliny 30. 2. 11)
 15. Jannes and Jambres are listed with many other ancient worthies whose necromancies St. Catherine had studied. (ActsCath A and B §4)
 16. Jannes and Jambres were second to none in the practice of magic. They were chosen by the Egyptians as a match for Moses, and of the plagues with which Moses afflicted Egypt they were able to undo even the most violent. (Numenius bk 3)
 17. Jannes, Joḥani and Mamre were practising fraudulent magic by having snakes brought and exchanging them for their staffs. They managed to check the rest of the angels but were unable to prevail against the angel of the divine presence (מלאך פניו) who sided with Moses. Joḥani, Mamre and Jannes were “chiefs of the Chaldaeans” and expert magicians among the Egyptians. (YalR Waera 19a on Ex 7:11 from Zohar [Ki Tissa 191a]; Theodore p. 152 also maintains that Jannes and Jambres did not in fact repeat the feats of Moses)
 18. Jannes and Jambres imitated not a few of the signs performed by Moses. The Egyptians regarded them as gods, but since their feats were not of God they perished along with those that believed in them. (ActsPil 5:1)
 19. Jannes and Jambres led Pharaoh astray until the king and his army were drowned in the Sea. (PasPP 34 [Greek and Latin texts] = ActsPP 55)
 20. Moses afflicted the adherents of Jannes and Jambres with sores, and the mother of one of them he sent to her death. (Philostorgius 9, 2)
 21. God did away with the magic illusions of Jannes and Jambres,

- gave them over to confusion and sores and caused them to perish. (Abdias 6, 15)
22. The foolishness of Jannes and Jambres in defying Moses was plain to all. (2Tim 3:8)
 23. Jannes and Jambres were two brothers, magicians and enchanters of the Egyptians, who through phony magic thought to resist God's mighty acts. But worsted by Moses they confessed in pain from their sores that God was active in Moses. (Ambrosiaster on 2Tim 3:8)
 24. In spite of the fact that Jannes and Jambres acknowledged the finger of God, God did not pardon them for what they had done. (PenCyp 17)
 25. When the magicians saw all the signs and wonders performed by Moses in Egypt, they came to him to become proselytes, and against God's explicit directive Moses accepted them. Thus a "mixed multitude" with Jannes and Jambres at the head accompanied Israel out of Egypt. (YalR Waera 19a on Ex 7:11; see ExR)
 26. At the Red Sea Jannes and Jambres made themselves wings and rose out of the water. Michael, however, was sent by God to mete out judgement to them and destroyed them on the surface of the water (YalS Beshallah 14 [235] on Ex 14:27)
 27. At the Sea when Jannes and Jambres, who were experts in witchcraft, flew in the air, Michael and Gabriel could not prevail over them and appealed to God for assistance. The **שר הפנים** was dispatched and drowned them. (YalR Beshallah 38a on Ex 15:7; in ChronJ 54, 8 it is Metatron who destroys them)
 28. Though Jannes and Jambres were able to hurl the angels (unnamed) into the sea, God himself made the magicians sink in the mighty waters. (MW p. 52 on Ex 15:10)
 29. When Moses fought against Midian (Num 31:6ff.), he killed Balaam the magician and his two sons (not named). Though Balaam flew in the air, Eleazar son of Aaron and his son Phinehas brought him down by uttering the divine name, and so he was executed together with "the rest of the princes of Midian." (ChronJ 48, 13; this episode apparently precedes the stay at Sinai, and it is of interest that in ChronJ 54, 8 Johani and Mamre are said to have been killed by Metatron at the Sea [see above]. In the version of this tale we find in Zohar Balak 194a [where it is placed after Sinai], Balaam's sons are named but no

mention is made of Eleazar. As well, a Danite, Zilya by name, flies after Balaam in pursuit but is able to catch him only with some indirect assistance from Phinehas. Then Zilya, at Phinehas' command, executes him with his own weapon, a sword with a snake on each side. The tale of Balaam becoming airborne is wide-spread in Jewish literature. See e.g. TP_sJ on Num 31:8 and references noted in Diez Macho *Neophyti I* vol. 4 p. 701, but in none of these are Balaam's sons included)

30. At Sinai when Moses tarried on the mountain, the Israelites, Jannes and Jambres among them, demanded of Aaron to make them a god. (Tan Ki Tissa 19)
31. Jannes and Jambres, who out of animosity arising from their frustrating performance against Moses had submitted to circumcision, were the real culprits in the idolatrous debacle at Sinai. (YalR Ki Tissa 81a on Ex 32:11 from Tiqqune [ha-Zohar 5 (142a)])
32. The calf which Aaron made at Sinai was part ox and part ass symbolizing Jannes and Jambres sons of Balaam. Of this dual creature it was said: "These are your gods, O Israel" (Ex 32:4). Since "Aaron received from their hand" (ibid.) i.e. from the hands of Jannes and Jambres, Aaron's own sons, Nadab and Abihu, were decreed to die "through" (כּ) Jannes and Jambres. (YalR Ki Tissa 80a on Ex 32:4; cf. ibid. 82b on Ex 32:5 from Zohar [Ki Tissa 192b], which indicates that "through" means "by the counsel of." Zohar Ki Tissa 192b also explains that the ass was included in the union because Ezek 23:20 says of the Egyptian magicians "the flesh of asses is their flesh")
33. Jannes and Jambres were among the approximately three thousand killed by the Levites at Sinai (Ex 32:28). The word "approximately" indicates that Jannes and Jambres were reckoned as being equal to three thousand. (YalR Ki Tissa 85a on Ex 32:28 from Zohar [Balak 194a])
34. Abezethibou, the demon residing in the Red Sea and in charge of Tartarus, claimed to be the one whom Jannes and Jambres called to their aid. (TSol 25:3-4; cf. 6:3, 5-6)
35. Jannes and Jambres, according to Satan, were his brothers. (QuesBart Lat. 2, IV 51)
36. Satan called Cyprian, the magician of Antioch, a new Jambres. (PenCyp 6)

37. Jannes and Jambres practised necromancy seemingly with the use of books. (ActsCath B §11)
38. Macarius of Alexandria once took a notion to visit the funerary garden of Jannes and Jambres the magicians, who in their day had held great power in Egypt. They had erected their monument with stones four feet in length, built their grave in it and stored away much gold. As well they had had trees planted and a well dug. Seventy demons met Macarius from the tomb demanding to know what he wanted. When Macarius had entered he found a little brass jar suspended, an iron chain by the well and pomegranates dried by the sun. (Palladius 18, 5-8; cf. also *Life of Macarius* which gives a very similar though not completely identical version)
39. A parallel account to that of Palladius, but attributed instead to Macarius of Egypt, appears in an anonymous work entitled *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*. Palladius' funerary garden (κηποτάφιον) is there labeled a "paradise" (παράδεισος) which was planted, according to the author, by the two magicians as a rival paradise (ἀντίτυπον) to the Garden of Eden. Its location is said to have been in the desert and its size very large. Since the garden was watered by three large springs, its huge trees produced fruit of every kind on earth. Though its entrances were guarded by demons, Macarius succeeded in getting inside where he discovered that two monks had preceded him, and, impressed by the place, he returned to persuade other monks to take up residence in the paradise. But they dissuaded him from going back lest, they argued, by enjoying luxury in this life they might forfeit heavenly bliss. (*Hist. Monach.* 21, 5-12; Rufinus' Latin translation, like Palladius, assigns the episode to Macarius of Alexandria)
40. Not impossibly King Solomon was instructed by Jambres about sacrifices to drive off demons. (Zosimus 8, 26) (The name "Membres" must, however, form the sole basis for the identification since no other tradition associates Jambres with either sacrifices or Solomon)

A few additional references perhaps warrant mentioning. In a Greek work spuriously assigned to Athanasius (*Synopsis scripturae sacrae* [PG 28, 297]) we are told that the Egyptian magicians, Jannes and Mambres (sic; cf. I.4 below), at first withstood Moses but later withdrew in shame. However, except for the names, this text reflects

nothing more than what we find in Ex 7-8. Similarly, Gregory of Nazianzus (*Apologetica* [PG 35, 449]) speaks of the boasting (μεγαληγορία) of “a certain Jannes or Jambres, not against Moses but against the truth.” But this accords fully with 2Tim 3:8-9. (Cf. also Epiphanius *Panarion* 66.65 [GCS 37, 105] where Jannes and Jambres are associated with opposition to the truth.) Other such ‘non-substantive’ references could be added.

Of more interest are two passages about our two magicians which were adduced by Max Förster in ASNL 108 pp. 26-27. Both of these are in Old English. The first is from King Alfred’s version of Paulus Orosius’ *Historia adversus paganos*, bk 1 ch. 7:

When the Egyptians saw that [i.e. the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea on dry ground], their magicians, Geames and Mambres, encouraged them, and they trusted that by their sorceries they could cross over the same road, but when they were in the sea-road, they all sank and were drowned. (transl. B. Thorpe p. 273. The Old English text appears on the facing page.)

A comparison with Orosius’ text (ed. C. Zangemeister, CSEL 5 p. 58) shows that though Orosius abides by what the Exodus account relates, King Alfred adds the reference to the magicians, including their names, and the assertion of the Egyptians’ trust in their sorceries.

As Förster rightly observes, there is no good reason to believe that King Alfred had direct access to Jewish literature. We have noted above that a number of these sources likewise associate the two brothers with the Red Sea episode. The names of the magicians and their pre-eminent role in the opposition to Moses had been known in Christian tradition since 2Tim 3:8, and to connect the two staunch opponents of Moses directly with the epic event at the Red Sea may be considered a plausible inference directly from the Exodus story. We should note that the author of the *Passion of Peter and Paul*, a document extant both in Greek and in Latin, had already inferred their immediate responsibility for the disaster (see above no. 19), and Abdias stated that God caused them to perish (*ibid.*). Moreover, BLCot demonstrates that in xi AD, two centuries after King Alfred, there was extant in Latin and Old English an account of Jannes’ paenitentia from Hades. Similarly, the Latin and Early Middle English versions of the *Life of St. Margaret* show acquaintance with “the books of Jamnes and Mambres.” (The Old English version strangely speaks of these two individuals as countries allotted

to Satan [see below I.5].) One would like to go one step farther and suggest that the entire book called *Jannes and Jambres* was not only known in mediaeval England but also that the information imparted by King Alfred stemmed from that source. But unfortunately, as will be argued later (see *Notes* on 2h3g→), it seems improbable that the *book* associated Jannes and Jambres with the Red Sea—at least not in the version known to us at present.

The second Old English reference occurs in Aelfric's *De auguriis* 17, 114-17:

Many things said the magicians through the devil's art/, Jamnes and Mambres, even as Moses wrote/, and they seduced Pharaoh with their deceits/, until he was drowned in the deep sea. (transl. W. W. Skeat p. 373. The Old English text appears on the facing page.)

Aelfric's poem, which dates from x/xi AD, demonstrates even further that the tradition of the magicians' responsibility for Pharaoh's death was known to Anglo-Saxon writers, though Jannes and Jambres themselves have here no explicit connection with the Red Sea. The first line is clearly an expansion of the Exodus account on the basis of 2Tim 3:8, and the last three lines do not go beyond the *Passion of Peter and Paul* (see above).

An interesting but puzzling reference to "Zambres the magician" is found in a 'Discussion' which allegedly took place between Christians and Jews in the presence of Emperor Constantine the Great, year 4. The information is given in Cedrenus (PG 121, 521-40) but more extensively in the Latin *Acts of Silvester* (Mombritius vol. 2 pp. 508-31). Silvester, Pope of Rome, was leader of the Christian delegation while "Zambres the magician, of Hebrew race and a sorcerer" headed up the Jewish contingent. The 'Discussion' tradition may be at least as old as v AD (A. Lukyn Williams, *Adversus Judaeos* p. 340 *pace* Juster), and it is possible that Zambres derives from Jambres (cf. *ibid.*). (In the Moses story, Cedrenus speaks of [Jannes and] Jambres, and "Zambres" of Michael Glycas is probably a coincidental agreement with the 'Discussion.') If the Zambres of the 'Discussion' does derive from our Jambres, the latter was, in all likelihood, polemically transformed into a Jew. (For Zambri of LXXNum 25:14 see *Notes* on 2h3g→)

The sorceress Yoḥane bat Retibi, whom we meet in TB Sotah 22a, may well owe her name to one of our heroes. In this connection it is of further interest that Keturah, Abraham's second wife, who

was believed to have dabbled in magic, was also known as Yoḥane. (TB Zeb 62b)

In conclusion, the two angels Harut and Marut who, according to Koran Sura 2:101, taught humankind witchcraft and whose trade the Jews are said to ply, may possibly be reflections of Jannes and Jambres. Their names are, of course, quite different (and restricted to the Koran, though for other possible attestations of “Marut” confer Aggoula, “Remarques” p.403), but Harut and Marut’s association with Babylon could possibly echo what YalR Waera 19a alleges, namely, that our magicians were “chiefs of the Chaldaeans.” (See above no. 17.) Perhaps of some further interest is that both sets of names are rhythmic pairs, like e.g. Amid and Abid (cf. Sus 5 Syriac), Eldad and Medad (Num 11:26), Chabris and Charmis (Jdt 8:10), Elxai and Yexai (Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer* p. xx) and others. Furthermore, my colleague Amir Harrak has called to my attention Michael G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, who on page 432 states, on the basis of Arabic sources, that a well in Babylon where Jews and Christians were accustomed to hold festivals, was called the well of Daniel, but was also known as the well of Harut and Marut. But that this well had any connection with the well which, according to the Macarius tradition (which in turn may well have gleaned this piece of information from the book on the two magicians; see above no. 38), Jannes and Jambres dug in their paradise seems doubtful but is not impossible. As I.5 below will show, Syriac sources in any case were acquainted with a book on Jannes and Jambres.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE NAMES OF THE MAGICIANS

That the name of at least the first of our magician brothers is Semitic in origin is hardly any longer open to serious doubt, even though some previous scholars of note have sought to derive both names from Egyptian (cf. Freudenthal p. 173 and authorities there noted; Freudenthal himself, citing some earlier authorities, calls them “gräcisirte ägyptische Namen”). Solomon Schechter’s publication of the Cairo Geniza manuscripts of the Damascus Document significantly strengthened the view that “Jannes” at any rate derives from Hebrew or Aramaic. Furthermore, as was noted in I.2, the passage in question (CD 5, 17b-19), which speaks of Belial having raised up “Yḥnh and his brother” in opposition to Moses and Aaron at the time of Israel’s exodus from Egypt, is now extant among the manuscript finds from Qumran, perhaps in duplicate.

A somewhat curious view regarding the origin of both names was advanced just before the turn of the century by Iselin (“Zwei Bemerkungen” [1894]), who would have us believe that the names arose out of a misreading of Gen 14:13. The phrase *מִמְרֵה אַמְרִי* (“Mamre the Amorite”) was misconstrued as *מִמְרֵה וַאֲמִרִי* thus producing the names “Mamre” and “Amre,” the latter becoming in time “Iamre” (one assumes), which in turn must have become “Iannes.” Iselin then appeals to the LXX of Gen 14:13 in order to explain the morphological development from Hebrew *מֵר-* to Greek *-μβρ-* in “Mambres.” Why “Amre” (= “Jannes”) did not likewise produce “Ambres,” he does not discuss; nor does he suggest how the order of the two names was reversed in subsequent tradition which is almost entirely uniform on this score. Yalqut Reubeni twice has the reverse order: Ki Tissa 80a, Balak 46b; H. J. Frede, *Vetus Latina* 25. 1 lists as a lone exception a variant reading in Augustine; and Michael Glycas speaks of Zambres and Jannes (CSHB 37 p. 293). Though Iselin’s view on the origin of the names may have some relevance for “Mambres”/“Iambres,” it completely ignores the textual evidence on “Iannes.”

Alan Wikgren more recently has suggested that both names, including their textual variants, may have an identical origin. In his

IDB article (1962) on the two magicians he writes that “the names may be Grecized Aramaic, and may... derive from forms of ‘John.’” An identical etymology and origin would, however, seem rather unlikely. Not only would one, on this supposition, be hard pressed to explain the internal structure of “Iambres” but loss of initial /y/ in part of the Hebrew/Aramaic tradition as well as in Latin transmission, presumably through assimilation to the second /m/ would appear less likely than assimilation to the preceding “Iannes.” That similar assimilation did indeed occur is obvious from all three linguistic traditions. Alongside of “Mambres” in Latin we find “Iannes” (*passim.*) and, in Greek guise, the Vienna papyrus features ειοαμβρης beside ειοαννης. In Jewish tradition we have an instance of ינוס and ימברינוס (YalS Shemot 5 [176]), where the second name is in fact a fusion of the two, rather than being simply a case of assimilation. Moreover, since in Hebrew/Aramaic the two names are regularly linked by ך, which is palaeographically easily and frequently confused with ך, and in Greek (κα)ι is employed for the same purpose, the likely introduction of initial /y/ in the second name would be further enhanced.

Though the first name in our pair is indisputably Semitic, the origin of the second poses somewhat more of a problem. Attempts by Weinstock (1948) and Thissen (1987) to give it an Egyptian derivation fail to convince. Among scholars who hold to a Semitic origin, a derivation from the root מרה “to agitate/rebel” has found widespread favour. This derivation was already proposed by Jacob Levy (I 337b) and receives favourable comment in JEn. Abraham Meyer (p. 57 n. 1) has taken this derivation one step farther by suggesting, on the basis of CD, that an original יחנן ממרא (“Yohanan the Rebel”) developed into two distinct names. The development Meyer posits, while not improbable *per se*, rests nonetheless in the final analysis on pure conjecture. We do well to remind ourselves that our oldest reference does not speak of “Yohanan the Rebel” but of “Yohānah and his brother”—whatever name this brother had or did not have at that juncture. Nor is Jannes ever dubbed a “rebel” in any extant tradition about the two magicians, though we have argued that in the Damascus Document they are apostate Israelites. One might, however, suggest that if ממרא is indeed the original form of the name under discussion, some sort of association with the root מרה might possibly help explain how a relatively obscure biblical name (Gen 13:18, 14:13, 24, 18:1) and one which has

a favourable connection with Abraham came to be used for one of the brothers who opposed Moses and Aaron at the time of the exodus. But perhaps such a development is no more strange than that, for example, Balaam, Job and Jethro in Rabbinic literature become counselors of Pharaoh.

We will set out briefly the textual evidence in the major linguistic traditions on the names of our two magicians (non-essential variants among editions/mss have been disregarded):

1. Hebrew/Aramaic:

- a. יחנה (CD 5, 18)
- b. יוחנא ממרא (Men 85a)
- c. יוחני ממרא (MW p. 52, YalS Beshallah 14 [235], ExR IX. 7, YalR Beshallah 38a)
- d. יניס ממריס (ChronM p. 5 [2x])
- e. יינוס י(ו)מברוס (Tan Ki Tissa 19, Zohar Ki Tissa 191a, Balak 194a, YalR Waera 19a, Ki Tissa 80a, 81a, 82b, 85a, Balak 42b)
- f. ינוס ימברוס (YalS Shemot 2 [168])
- g. יניס ימבר(י)ס (TPsJ on Ex 1:15, 7:11-12, ChronJ 47, 6, ShY p. 310)
- h. ינוס ימברינוס (YalS Shemot 5 [176])
- i. יניס ימריס (TPsJ on Num 22:22)
- j. ממרא יוחני (YalR Ki Tissa 80a, Balak 46b)
- k. יינוס יוחני ממרא (YalR Waera 19a)
- l. יוחני ממרא ינוס (YalR Waera 19a)

2. Greek:

- a. ιωαννης (P. C.B. XVI [1x], 2Tim 3:8^{C*} Euthal.cod*)
- b. ειοσωννης ειοσαμβρης (P. Vindob)
- c. ιωννης μαμβρης (ActsCath A §4, B §11, 2Tim 3:8^G Goth, ApCon 8, 1)
- d. ιωννης ιαμβρης (P. Mich [first name only], P. C.B. XVI, 2Tim 3:8, OrCels, Numenius, TSol, PenCyp, ActsPil, Philostorgius, Palladius, JohnM, PasPP^{Gk}, ActsPP, CosIn 3, 56, ActsCath B 11, LXX^{Fb*} 799)
- e. ιανεις ιαμβρεις (Palhist [4x])

3. Latin:

- a. iohannes (Apul, 2Tim 3:8^{Hi} var)
- b. iannes iambres (Pliny [1st name only], 2Tim 3:8^V)

- c. iannes mambres (2Tim 3:8^D)
- d. iamnes mambres (2Tim 3:8^{KI}, BLCot, OrMat, DecGel, Ambrosiaster, QuesBart, PasPP^{Lat}, Margaret).

A few facts are immediately clear from the variations in spelling which the three major traditions offer. (Syriac spelling sides with the Greek.) Jewish tradition testifies extensively to forms of the names with final ם. That such forms are not indigenous to that tradition but have arisen under foreign (in this case Greek) influence is well-nigh certain. Lester Grabbe has quite correctly reminded us, in connection with the two names under discussion, that proper nouns ending in ם are rare in Hebrew as well as in Aramaic, and that, when encountered, they are more often than not of foreign origin (p. 397 n. 17). In view of recent discoveries of extensive Greek fragments of an ancient book on Jannes and Jambres, we may now go one step farther and suggest that such influence may well have come directly from that book. In the second place, it is perhaps of some significance that when Jewish tradition gives us the hellenized form of the first name (which is manifestly Semitic in origin), the accompanying name likewise ends in ם, begins with י and has the -ב- infix. (The two exceptions to this are in ChronM p. 5 which reads יניס and ממריס; cf. also TP_sJ Num 22:22 which has ימריס.) Conversely, when we encounter the more Semitic (i.e. more original) form of the first name, it is followed by ממרא, without initial י, final ם and -ב- infix. Since most of the texts involved, however, are not available in critical editions, one must naturally tread with some caution in this area. (The vowel letters are especially unstable.) From the list of variant spellings we gave above, it is also clear that Greek tradition reads predominantly the forms of the names as we find them in all editions of the Greek NT, namely ιαννης and ιαμβρης, while in Latin literature the second name is written more often than not with initial /m/ in place of /y/.

Clearly by the time the second epistle to Timothy was written, the names of both magicians had already been hellenized; that is to say, an original יוחנן/יוחני/יוחנה had been abbreviated to ιαννης and both names had been given Greek inflections. Also, the second name had already been assimilated to the first, thus producing initial /y/. It should be stressed, however, that even though the original text of 2Tim 3:8 read without doubt Ἰαννης καὶ Ἰαμβρης, this is not to be construed to mean that no older forms of the names were any

longer known in the early Church. On the contrary, both names are in fact extant in a more ancient i.e. Semitic form than the form presented in the critical editions of 2Tim 3:8. As is clear from the textual evidence we have given, both the Vienna papyrus and the Chester Beatty papyrus (on one occasion) witness to the typologically earlier form $\omega\alpha\nu\eta\varsigma$, and this reading finds further support in two Greek witnesses to 2Tim 3:8, a Latin variant on the same passage in Jerome, as well as in the pagan (Latin) writer Apuleius. Likewise, in the case of the second name, there is evidence for an alternate reading to what we have in NT editions. According to Nestle-Aland both ms G and Gothic support “Mambres” and this same spelling appears in all three branches of the *Vetus Latina* (La^{KDI}) which was evidently corrected by Pseudo-Jerome (La^V), on the basis of the Greek text, to “Iambres.” Apart from the NT passage, $\mu\alpha\mu\beta\eta\varsigma$ is read by the *Acts of St. Catherine* (2 out of 3 occurrences; Greek), and seemingly all Latin literary references to the two magicians, including the Latin fragment of *Jannes and Jambres*, BL^{Cot}, support this. In some instances, however, lack of critical editions make complete accuracy unattainable.

The interesting question to be raised in connection with the VL text of 2Tim 3:8 is how “Mambres” is to be accounted for. Frede suggests in his *apparatus criticus* that the Greek variant with initial /m/ is dependent on the Latin; but if, as Westcott-Hort noted long ago, “the Western text probably derived $\mu\alpha\mu\beta\eta\varsigma$ from a Palestinian source” (cf. HJP 3, 293), Frede would seem to be forced to posit direct Semitic influence on the VL. Such would seem unlikely. More probable is that VL was translated from a Greek *Vorlage* which read $\mu\alpha\mu\beta\eta\varsigma$ and that this variant in Greek tradition circulated in the Jewish Church.

Both names, then, have survived within Greek tradition in forms which are typologically earlier than what we find in the original text of 2Tim 3:8.

Drawing on all three linguistic traditions we might express the typological development of the two names as follows:

יוחנא	}	$\omega\alpha\nu\eta\varsigma$ /iohannes
יוחני		
יוניס	}	$\iota\alpha\nu\eta\varsigma$ /iannes
יניס		

ממרא	}	μᾶμβρης/mambres
ממוריס		
ימריס	}	ἱᾶμβρης/iambres
ימבריס		

Koehler-Baumgartner², like Buxtorf, points יחנה with a doubling of the נ, but gives no justification for doing so. This would mean that final /a/ rather than representing an opening of the ultima in י(ו)חנן would in fact be an additional syllable. Both final /a/ and /i/, however, were explained by Lidzbarski (“Kosenamen”) as hypocoristic formations of י(ו)חנן, and this explanation is also reflected in traditional pointing.

Whether the Greek ἱᾶννης derives from י(ו)חנה, י(ו)חני or י(ו)חנן is impossible to know with certainty. Unfortunately the published fragments from Cave 6 at Qumran do not help us in finding an answer to this question, but the Cave 4 piece reputedly has יחנה.

Judging from the traditions about our magicians as well as the recently discovered fragments of the book which recounted their tale, ι(ω)αννης from the beginning was written, in Greek, with double ν (cf. on such doubling BdB §40). Enough textually uncontested examples of the name so written can be gleaned from the LXX corpus to make such an original doubling plausible (cf. e.g. 1Mac 2:1, 2; 8:17; 2Mac 4:11; 11:17); and a similar picture emerges from NT evidence.

Less clear than the original doubling of ν in ι(ω)αννης is the correct accentuation of the names. Editors of Greek texts which mention them, uniformly accent both on the ultima, perhaps under the influence of the traditional accentuation of the names in 2Tim 3:8. Since it is now beyond doubt, however, that ιαννης is a shortened form of ἱᾶννης one would expect this to be reflected in the accentuation. If ἱᾶννης is to be accented on the penultima, ιαννης should be made to conform. This reasoning would appear to have made Nestle break with tradition. At least as early as the 13th edition of NTG (1927) the text of 2Tim 3:8 reads Ἰάννης καὶ Ἰαμβρῆς. Though Nestle’s correction is undoubtedly a step in the right direction, it would seem nevertheless to have produced a new problem. That two names which, in typically folkloristic fashion, underwent

extensive and continuing mutual assimilation would have been accented on different syllables is most unlikely; and as has been pointed out above, such assimilation had already taken place by the time 2Tim 3:8 was written, the author of which may well have derived them from the book entitled *Jannes and Jambres*, composed, as will be argued below (see I.6), around the turn of the era or shortly thereafter. Not only was initial /m/ changed to /i/ but the shortened form *ιαννης* may well have been encouraged by the second name in this pair. (Cf. in the opposite direction *ειοαννης* and *ειοαμβρης* in the Vienna papyrus.) Consequently, if *ιαννης* was paroxytone, the same is likely to have been true for *ιαμβρης*, irrespective of their original Semitic accent. In the edition of the new texts, therefore, the accent has been placed on the penultimate syllable in both names. Both names, furthermore, are regularly declined in the literary traditions as well as in the book on the pattern -ης -ου -η -ην. Palladius, however, has the Doric genitive in -η, which also occurs once in ActsCath (B §11).

Regardless of its precise original form, there can be no doubt that the chief magician who opposed Moses (and Aaron) before Pharaoh bore a uniquely Jewish name, and a historical reason for this has been offered in I.2.

CHAPTER FIVE
LITERARY REFERENCES TO A BOOK ON JANNES AND
JAMBRES

Certainly by iii AD and perhaps considerably earlier a book about our two magicians' altercations with Moses was in circulation. Origen in his commentary on Matthew, written in Caesarea after AD 244, makes reference to such a composition. Unfortunately the commentary is, for the most part, extant only in an anonymous Latin translation. When commenting on Mt 27:3-10 Origen mentions several extra-biblical ("secret") writings, including a work on Jannes and Jambres. With reference to 2Tim 3:8 he says:

item quod ait: 'sicut Iannes et Mambres restiterunt Moysi' non invenitur in publicis libris, sed in libro secreto qui suprascribitur liber Iannes et Mambres (GCS 38 [1933] p. 250).

The statement 'As Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses' is not based on canonical books but on an apocryphal one entitled *Jannes and Jambres*,

And again in negative vein, he writes in comment on Mt 23:37-39:

nec enim scimus in libris canonizatis historiam de Iamne et Mambre resistentibus Moysi (ibid., p. 51)).

For we do not know the story of Jannes and Jambres' opposition from the canonical books.

Because 2 Timothy had borrowed from a *liber secretus*, Origen explains, some of his contemporaries rejected (*repello*) the entire epistle. Purportedly, then, Paul, the presumed author of 2 Timothy, knew and used the book of Jannes and Jambres. Consequently, it was thought to have predated the apostle.

Since in Origen's commentary on Mt 27, the names of the magicians are given in the nominative case rather than in the genitive, the book's title should no doubt be read as simply *Jannes and Jambres*. Of interest is that, in vi AD, the Gelasian Decree (see further below) knows it as *Paenitentia Iamne et Mambre* and Papyrus Chester Beatty (see Frame 1ab →) speaks of "the book of the story (lit.: words) of Jannes and Jambres," though this is scarcely the title as such.

Though it might be tempting to conclude from Origen's references that the book was widely known by his day, a note of caution should perhaps be sounded. Approximately a century after Origen, neither Chrysostom nor Theodoret appears to know of a book on Jannes and Jambres which reputedly functioned as Paul's source in 2 Timothy. Commenting on 2Tim 3:8 both suggest that the author got the names either from unwritten Jewish tradition or through divine inspiration (PG 62, 644 and 82, 848 respectively). Yet, a Latin contemporary of Chrysostom and Theodoret, a writer known to modern scholarship since Erasmus as the Ambrosiaster, did know of such a work. In the course of his exposition of 2 Timothy, he quotes the Vetus Latina text of 3:8-9 and then writes:

exemplum hoc de apocryfis est: Iamnes enim et Mambres fratres erant magi vel venefici Aegyptiorum, qui arte magiae suae virtuti dei, quae per Moysen agebat, aemulatione conmentitia resistere se putabant. sed cum in Moysi virtus in operibus cresceret, humiles facti confessi sunt cum dolore ulcerum (vulnerum) deum in Moyse operatum ([CSEL 81. 3 p. 313]).

This is an example from the apocrypha: for Jamnes and Mambres were brothers, magicians or sorcerers of the Egyptians, who with the art of their magic out of sham rivalry thought to oppose God's might which worked through Moses. But when the power of Moses in his works proved superior, they were humbled and they confessed in the pain of their sores (wounds) that God was active in Moses.

Our information on ancient writers explicitly aware of the existence of the book may suggest that its provenance in iii/iv AD was limited to Egypt and the West, with a possible inclusion of Palestine.

The third reference to a book about our two magicians comes from the *Decretum Gelasianum*, a document attributed by tradition to Pope Gelasius (AD 492-496) or one of his papal confreres but assigned by modern scholarship to vi AD (see TU 38, 4 p. 345). This document contains *inter alia* the well-known list of apocryphal books (V; p. 11-13), which includes the title *Paenitentia Iamne et Mambre*.

A fourth reference to our book comes from Syriac literature. According to Michael the Syrian (*Chronicle* bk XII 1), since the Caliph of Baghdad, al-Maḥdi (AD 775-785), had an addiction to sorcery, he collected books of magic. Consequently, the emperor of Byzantium, Leo IV (AD 776-781), sent him a book entitled *Jannes and Jambres* "which," says Michael, "contained all the magic of the Egyptians and everything they did in opposition to Moses." Bar

Hebraeus, who used Michael as one of his sources, repeats this information at the appropriate point in his Syriac *Chronography* (vol. 1 p. 116).

Three additional references to a book are less clear. In John of Nikiu's *Chronicle* (30) we read:

... in the days of Petissonius, that is Pharaoh Amosius, king of Egypt, who ruled by the help of the book of the magicians Jannes and Jambres, who wrought shameful things before the mighty Moses, who talked with God... (Charles pp. 27-28).

It seems clear, however, that reference is here made to a book of magic which was in the possession of the two magicians. Whether the latter is to be equated with the document(s) in the possession of Jannes and Jambres, according to our book, remains to be discussed (see *Notes* on 4a + →). It is also possible that the work John had in mind was our book since, according to Papyrus Chester Beatty XVI 1ab →, it was reputedly written by an author in Pharaoh's employ. Whatever the case, John's reference seems to suggest that he was acquainted with *Jannes and Jambres*, since even if he meant the magicians' book of magic, the latter appears only within the pages of our book.

A similar conclusion may be drawn from a passage in the *Acts of St. Catherine* (of Alexandria) Text B:

Ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ὁ τιμογλύφιος Ἰαννῆς καὶ Μαμβρῆς τῇ προυμαίδι(?) τῆς νεκρομαντείας τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν βιβλῶν καραξιώδους ὀπτρίζουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων κεκοιμημένα πρόσωπα ἐν τῇ γῇ τοῖς ζητοῦσιν θεάσασθαι. (§11; p. 30)

As James has correctly noted (LAOT p. 34), the text is corrupt and only the last clause is reasonably comprehensible. This he renders: "... they show to them that seek to behold persons that have slept in the earth from the ages." It is further clear that "books" are mentioned and that these are seemingly used in the performing of necromancy. It is not certain, however, whether these books were in the possession of Jannes and Jambres or whether they told their tale. Since *Jannes and Jambres*, as we now know, features a necromancy performed on Jannes by Jambres (see *Notes* on 5a + →), it is likely that the passage of the *Acts* in question in any case reflects acquaintance with our book.

Of special interest is a reference to "books" in the *Life of St. Margaret*. Frances Mack (*Sainte Marherete*) has labeled the legends of

Catherine and Margaret, along with that of Juliana, sister legends. Indeed, both Early Middle English manuscripts of *Margaret* which she published include the *Lives* of the other two saints as well. Interestingly, the reference to the books of Jannes and Jambres appears not only in the English versions, as Förster noted in ASNSL 110 (1903) p. 427, but also in the Latin text which is appended in Mack's book. The demon Beelzebar appears to Margaret in jail, and when she questions him about his lineage (*genus*), he tells her that she can get this information on her own by consulting the books of Jannes and Jambres. Says the demon:

Rex noster Satanas est, qui deiectus est de paradyso. In libris Iamne et Mambre inuenies genus nostrum: scutare et uide ([p. 137, 19-21]).

Our king is Satan, who was thrown out of Paradise. In the books of Jannes and Jambres you will find our lineage. Look for yourself.

All manuscripts collated by Mack read the plural "books" (as does *Catherine* in the passage we have cited), though this need not stand in the way of construing the information as a reference to *Jannes and Jambres*. If such is indeed the case, it means that the version of the book known to the author of the *Life of St. Margaret* contained a certain amount of demonology. For this we have no direct evidence in our present materials, though they do feature a genealogy of the magicians, which may possibly have included demonic ancestors.

It might be tempting to construe a kind of special relationship between the *Life of St. Margaret* and its 'sister' tale, the *Life of St. Catherine*, on the basis of their references to books associated with Jannes and Jambres; however, neither the Early Middle English version of the latter nor the Latin (see E. Einenkel, *The Life of St. Katherine*) makes any mention of the books in question. Nor for that matter do the A and C texts of the Greek published by Viteau. Moreover, while all three of Viteau's texts at some point mention our magicians by name, they are totally absent from the Latin and the English of *The Life of St. Catherine*.

Strangely, the Old English version of St. Margaret's *Life* says that when Satan was thrown out of paradise, he was allotted two lands (sic) to rule, one named Jamnes and the other Mambres (see Biggs et al., *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture* pp. 27-29). No other source makes such an equation, including, as we have seen, other versions of the *Life*.

Our evidence shows that knowledge of a book on Jannes and

Jambres was widely dispersed. It stretched from the Syriac East to the Latin West and from Graeco-Roman Egypt to Anglo-Saxon England. It is not always clear, however, that such knowledge went beyond a mere awareness of its existence to specific familiarity with the book as we now have it.

CHAPTER SIX

THE BOOK ON JANNES AND JAMBRES

Fortunately, the book about Jannes and Jambres, known to Origen and other ancient and mediaeval authors, is more than an intriguing title, since it has, at least in part, survived the vicissitudes of transmission. Several of the fragmentary remains have already been mentioned in the course of our discussion up to this point. It remains to present them systematically and in greater detail. We will do so in the order in which they became known to modern scholarship.

First is British Library Cotton Tiberius B.v folio 87a and 87b, the latter page being a pictorial representation of the written text in Latin and Old English, namely, Jambres, standing on a mountain, in the act of conjuring the shade of his dead brother Jannes from Hades by means of the book of magic to which he points the viewer (see further IV below). The date of this manuscript is xi AD. Though known to modern scholarship since 1861, when its written text was published by T. O. Cockayne, it was re-published more recently by M. R. James in JTS 2 (1901) and Max Förster in ASNSL 108 (1902). The Latin text of 18 lines is accompanied by a translation in Old English, and gives us part of Jannes' admission of wrong-doing from Hades.

The second text is Papyrus Vindobonensis inv. G(reek) 29456 + 29828verso, accessible since Hans Oellacher's publication of 1951 but republished and correctly identified by Pierre Maraval in ZPE 2 (1977) (see further III). It has been dated to iii AD and in two (probably four) fragments, belonging to a re-used scroll, features material paralleled for the most part in the Chester Beatty papyrus. Its Greek text comprises some 42 fragmentary lines, not counting the two less certain fragments which, because of their small size, have not yet been securely placed.

In the third place, we now have Papyrus Chester Beatty XVI, consisting of 99 fragments gathered into eight frames plus a stray piece erroneously included in a frame of Coptic papyrus fragments (see *Notes* on Frame 8), for a total of 100 fragments. As will be argued later, a date of iv AD may be assigned to its Greek text. The existence of this manuscript has been known since 1974 (see

A. Pietersma, BIOSCS 7 [1974] p. 15), and a preliminary English edition of the larger fragments appeared in OTPs 2 (1985). The original document was in codex form, comprising a minimum of 24 pages, some of which have apparently been lost in their entirety.

A fourth text, Papyrus Michigan inv. 4925verso was announced by L. Koenen in BASP 16 (1979) p. 114. The two fragments (one of them blank on the ↓ side, according to Michigan authorities), containing 10 fragmentary lines of Greek text, document the genealogy of Jannes and Jambres and, consequently, must belong early on in the book (see *Notes* on 1ab→). Like the Vienna text, this papyrus belongs to a re-used scroll with literary texts on both sides. Consequently, it is similarly unclear which side is the more original. Since the date of the poetic text (comedy) on the → side is said to be late ii AD or early iii, it seems likely that the piece from *Jannes and Jambres* on ↓ will turn out to be of roughly the same date. The text has been assigned to R. W. Daniel for editing but unfortunately remains unpublished to date.

Before delineating the contents of our book on the basis of these four manuscripts, we mention here briefly a number of additional texts which have been surmised to belong to *Jannes and Jambres* (cf. IPGAT pp. 147-48). None of them, however, can lay convincing claim to such status.

M. R. James in LAOT, after referring to the Latin text of the British Library, mentions in addition four possible excerpts from our book. The first of these is Photius' citation from Philostorgius' *Ecclesiastical History*, which alleges that Moses smote the adherents of the two brothers with sores and sent the mother of one of them to her death (see I.3.20 above). That this fragment, however, is a citation from the book, rather than being merely a reference to something it contained, is unlikely. Indeed, the information it gives on Jannes and Jambres being sons of different mothers directly contradicts what we read in the Beatty text, and for that reason alone James' conclusion is unwarranted. Moreover, Photius' text on Jannes and Jambres gives the distinct impression of being a summary of protracted action rather than a citation *per se*. Nonetheless, the mention of the mother rather than the father, Balaam, who regularly appears in the traditions, betrays an unmistakable acquaintance with the book.

The second set of texts James mentions as possible excerpts from the book are in the *Penitence of Cyprian*, namely, §§6 and 17. In the

former the devil praises Cyprian as a new Jambres, and in the latter Cyprian laments that since he outdid Jannes and Jambres, who acknowledged the finger of God, he even less than they will receive divine pardon (see I.3.24). Although there can be little doubt that the *Penitence of Cyprian*, like Philostorgius, shows familiarity with *Jannes and Jambres* (see *Notes* on 6→), we are scarcely warranted to say more. (For the question of forgiveness see *Notes* on 6↓.)

James' third candidate is the *Acts of St. Catherine* §4 (Texts A and B) and §11 (Text B). In the first of these, Catherine is said to have studied *inter alia* the necromancies of Jannes and Jambres (see above I.3.15), and the second passage states that *Jannes and Jambres* made reference to "the manger of the Lord" and "the stone of the tomb." Though we know from the extant fragments of our book that Jambres conjured up Jannes' shade from Hades (see no.19 below), there is no evidence to suggest that the two brothers practised necromancy on a regular basis. Indeed, the plot of the book seems to make this unlikely. Similarly, it is quite possible that certain passages in the book were interpreted in a christianizing manner (see *Notes* on 2h3g↓), but actual citations in *Acts of St. Catherine* are quite an other matter. Once again, familiarity with our book readily accounts for the information we are given.

The final alleged text of *Jannes and Jambres* referred to by James is an interpolation in the Syriac *Testament of Ephraem* (CSCO 334/5) which speaks at length about a crowd of Egyptian magicians who, in their fight against Moses, marshaled demons against him. Moses, however, easily repelled them, and on a second occasion was found to be surrounded by angels. Similarly, the magicians' attempt to kill Moses through poisoned wine failed utterly. Significantly, the magicians are clearly more than two in number and the names of Jannes and Jambres never appear. But apart from a mutual indebtedness to the Exodus account as well as a shared interest in the confrontation between Moses and the magicians, one fails to find any similarities between the Ephraem passage and the tale of our two brothers as we know it at present.

More recently K. Koch in ZNW 57 (1966) has proposed that Pharaoh's dream in TPsJ on Ex 1:15, about the lamb and the scales (cf. I.3.6), hails from *Jannes and Jambres*. For our purpose his central arguments are 1. that the passage in TPsJ has been interpolated and, consequently, stems from elsewhere, and 2. that the Latin text of BLCot shows a number of Semitisms, making it probable that the

original language of the book was Hebrew or, more likely, Aramaic. Ch. Burchard in the same volume of ZNW has taken Koch to task and convincingly refuted his thesis. Interestingly, the particular 'Semitisms' of the Latin text, cited by Koch, are not supported by the Greek fragments now in our possession. Moreover, we will note presently that the original language of the book must have been Greek rather than Hebrew or Aramaic.

Since *Jannes and Jambres*, even after recent discoveries, is extant only in part, there is naturally good reason to continue to look for additional material that may have belonged to the book. For the present, however, the four manuscripts enumerated above constitute its sole exemplars. When their contents are put together, the following outline of *Jannes and Jambres* can be delineated:

1. The book containing the story of Jannes and Jambres, magicians at the court of King Pharaoh in Memphis, was written by a named author in the king's employ, an individual endowed with the necessary qualifications for the undertaking. (Chester Beatty 1ab→)
2. Jannes and Jambres, the magicians, are the sons of Balaam(?) the son of Petephres(?) an official and priest of the Egyptian bull god Apis. They apparently held sway at Pharaoh's court for a stated period. (Michigan)
3. An author's preface may have stated the aim of the tale before the action *per se* commences. (Chester Beatty 1ab↓)
4. The mother of Jannes and Jambres has a dream that an intruder into the paradise cuts down a cypress-tree. She relates the dream to Jannes who apparently grasps its meaning but chooses to ignore it. Possibly wishing to shield his mother, he urges her to go home and tend her private affairs, and orders her to keep quiet about the dream. The text's subsequent reference to human features may be descriptive of the intruder. (Chester Beatty 1cd→)
5. The mother's dream comes true: an extra-terrestrial being saws down the cypress-tree. A human agent (Moses?) addresses Jannes, vowing to implement, after an interval of three years, what the symbolic act foreshadows. Affliction will strike Egypt, he states, whenever *he* deems it appropriate. Seemingly as a counter measure, Jannes gives orders that "the paradise" be surrounded with a wall and watched closely. (Chester Beatty 1cd↓)
6. The opponents of Jannes and Jambres object to a "wicked en-

- closure” Jannes has erected and predict death for the magicians and their mother. A reference to Serapis or a Serapeum appears included. Perhaps at this point, Jannes is smitten with his fatal disease about which we hear later in the story. (Chester Beatty 1ef→)
7. Sexual morality is discussed by the two brothers and apparent approval is expressed for the abrogation of the institution of marriage. (Chester Beatty 1ef↓)
 8. Jannes summons Egypt’s wise men to the magicians’ private estate in order to view the abundant foliage of his paradise, which has quickly provided protection against the sun’s rays. The guests are told to sit under “a certain apple-tree,” but when they are seated there, a thunderstorm accompanied by an earthquake strikes, tearing off several branches from the leafy canopy. Upon seeing what has happened, Jannes runs into the library where his magical tools are said to be, presumably in an effort to ascertain the meaning of the occurrence. (Chester Beatty 2a→)
 9. Probably while engaged in magical proceedings in the library, Jannes is again made aware of the destruction threatening Egypt. Then four “men” confront him with the message that “the Lord of the earth and the Overseer of the universe” has sent them to lead away Jannes to Hades where he will be “a companion of corpses forever.” Two of the four men, wearing white clothing, take pity on him and grant him a reprieve of fixed duration. (Chester Beatty 2a↓)
 10. While Jannes is speaking to his friends about marriage and wedding celebrations, messengers from the palace summon him to oppose “Moses the Hebrew” and his brother, who are doing feats that astound everyone. Jannes arrives at the palace, matches Moses’ accomplishments, but is immediately tortured by his ailment (“his death”). He leaves the royal presence, enters “the hedra” and sends back word to the king that divine power is active in Moses, a conclusion which he seemingly had reached previously and which hardened his resolve to take a stand against Moses. But to strike a mortal blow against Moses seemingly eludes him (Chester Beatty 3a + →, Vienna B)
 11. He apparently returns to his estate near Memphis and during the night (or evening), a portent in the form of a setting star/planet is seen, which is interpreted by Jannes(?) to signal

- the downfall of an evil generation. Other astral omens are apparently seen as well. (Chester Beatty 3a + ↓ and Vienna B)
12. Jannes, quite ill and knowing that his end is imminent, goes to Memphis, possibly to stand trial for charges brought against him. He therefore takes leave of his mother whom he commends to the care of his friends during his absence, though he promises to keep her informed. The friends he embraces in farewell, but his own brother he takes along to Memphis and, by entrusting him with an important document which he warns him to keep secret, appoints him his successor. (Chester Beatty 4a + →, Vienna A)
 13. Also, he warns Jambres against accompanying the king and nobles of Egypt when they start out in pursuit of "the people of the Hebrews." Jambres is apparently advised to feign illness and thus to save himself from the doom which Jannes clearly foresees. His 'final' instructions seemingly include their mother. (Chester Beatty 4a + ↓, Vienna A)
 14. A din is heard, perhaps that of the Egyptian army marching out in pursuit. One brother addresses the other. (Chester Beatty 2h→)
 15. In seemingly brief compass the book relates the pursuit and the Egyptian disaster at the Red Sea, as well as a national lament which follows. Jambres had clearly heeded his brother's warning. (Chester Beatty 3g→)
 16. Jannes' physical condition is deteriorating steadily and in graphic language he gives vent to his distress. (Chester Beatty 2h↓)
 17. Jambres complains of violated oaths and changed behaviour (on the part of the devil?); Jannes groans in pain. As it seems, the magicians with their mother and accompanied by a large number of beasts of burden (mules, asses, camels. . .) retreat to their private estate. (Chester Beatty 3g↓)
 18. When news of the king's death reaches Egypt, Jannes is still able to comfort his friends, but shortly thereafter meets his own death, apparently in a violent manner (by fire ?) rather than as a result of his disease, while his mother attempts to come to his assistance. A touching exchange between mother and son precedes his death. Jannes' reprieve evidently had run out at this point. (Chester Beatty 5a + ↓)
 19. The mother addresses a lament to Jannes' corpse, but not long

afterwards she too dies, violently as it seems, and is buried by her surviving son, Jambres, with all due rites, in the tomb of Jannes. Probably at a loss as to how to continue, deprived of both brother and mother, Jambres opens the magical books under the apple-tree, and conjures from Hades Jannes' shade, which apparently expresses annoyance at being disturbed. (Chester Beatty 5a + →, Latin)

20. Seemingly, the shade gives a retrospective account (for the benefit of the reader) of what transpired during the struggle. (Chester Beatty 5d + ↓ and →)
21. Jannes' shade launches into an admission of wrong-doing, describes conditions in Hades, including the confined space allotted to himself, and warns his brother to mend his ways. Hell knows no forgiveness. (Chester Beatty 6↓ and →, Latin)
22. The shade conveys divine displeasure with idol worshipers and condemns a variety of other sinners, who will receive their due in hell, the great equalizer of all humans. The prostitute is apparently singled out as a sinner *par excellence*. (Chester Beatty 7↓ and →)

Though for the most part the four texts can be successfully integrated, some points of difference are also apparent. Thus a few textual variants emerge between the Beatty and Vienna texts. Of greater interest than these, however, is the more substantial literary difference that may have existed between them. As will be shown in detail later, after Jannes leaves the presence of the king (see 10 above), the two texts evidently to a large extent go their own separate ways. Accidental corruption may have played a role, but can hardly explain all the evidence. Similarly problematic is the exact relationship between the Beatty text and the Latin, since the latter defies full integration into the former (cf. 19 and 21 above). Whether these differences among our witnesses are to be read as comparatively minor textual variants among manuscripts of our book or as indications of larger versional differences in its plot is not possible to answer with confidence at the present stage of our knowledge.

Thanks to Papyrus Chester Beatty XVI, we now know the beginning of *Jannes and Jambres*. Unfortunately, about its conclusion we are in the dark as much as ever. How did the tale end and what could the ending have told us about the original purpose of the book or the role it was assigned in the community that transmitted it? We may

recall in this connection the title given our book in the Gelasian Decree, namely, the *Confession of Jannes and Jambres*.

When M. R. James in 1901 re-published the Latin text, the only text of *Jannes and Jambres* then known, the wording of the title did not fail to attract his attention. After making a variety of comments on the Latin fragment and noting some affinity with the speech of the Rich Man of Lk 16:19ff., James writes:

The story must have had a sequel. Any attempt at reconstructing it lands us in the region of pure conjecture. We can imagine Mambres taking the advice of his brother (to make sure not to end up the way he had), falling at the feet of Moses, confessing his wicked arts, burning his books and becoming a devout proselyte. This is the only *dénouement* that we are warranted in imagining by the title *Poenitentia Ianne et Mambre*. (p. 576)

Before entertaining the question of possible conclusions to the book, which must remain a matter of conjecture in spite of the vast increase in textual material at our disposal, we may ask what the fragmentary remains are able to tell us about the book's chief concern or central thrust. This question deserves priority since the answer to it is largely independent from the precise details of Jambres' end.

As is clear from the delineation we have given of the book's plot, the theme in the extant materials (and no doubt in the book as a whole) is the willful opposition and stubborn persistence of the book's chief protagonist, Jannes, who in our story has largely usurped the role of the Pharaoh in the biblical account. We note the following in the course of the narrative: the mother's dream, warning of coming ruin, is not heeded, and the advent of the angel who cuts down the cypress-tree, as well as the threatened implementation of what his act is meant to symbolize, are countered with a wall around the paradise; not even when Jannes has been afflicted with leprosy is he induced to alter his course; omens in nature predict imminent doom, but Jannes persists; heavenly emissaries, ready to carry him off to Hades, grant him a respite presumably to give him time to come to his senses—all to no avail; he recognizes and admits that Moses is endowed with divine power and informs the king accordingly, but defiantly declares that this is the very reason for his opposition; astronomical phenomena signal coming disaster, yet he stays his perilous course; he perceives the destruction that awaits the king and his nobles when they set out in pursuit of the Hebrews, yet, though warning his brother not to participate, he is not persuaded

to halt his opposition; when his own death stares him in the face, he appoints a successor to continue the fight. In this way the story moves step by step inexorably toward its climax, namely, Jannes' violent exit to hell where at last he is brought to his knees—but his paenitentia from beyond the grave comes forever too late. Forgiveness can no longer be obtained.

The important and climactic role played by Jannes' confession from hell in the structure of the book is underscored by the fact that, of the at least 22 pages represented in Papyrus Chester Beatty XVI, some six are seemingly taken up with Jannes' paenitentia. Admittedly, we do not have the entire book, but the crucial significance of Jannes' *post mortem* speech can scarcely be questioned.

If what we have argued is correct, it means that the author of our book, like the author of the old German (and English) Faust book, could have written his piece as a warning to his readership. But even if this was not his immediate aim, it is easy to see how such a role might be assigned to the book subsequently. Jannes' penalty for his obstinate opposition to God, i.e. his having been consigned to hell without hope of forgiveness, would certainly warn the reader against following his example and thus sharing his fate. Such an interpretation stands, in our judgement, irrespective of how brother Jambres ended his career. A similarly paradigmatic role of Jannes and Jambres is in evidence in 2Tim 3:8-9.

We may now perhaps conjecture how our book ended. James, as was noted, thought that the title assigned to it in the Gelasian Decree demanded Jambres' repentance in sackcloth and ashes, presumably because, strictly speaking, paenitentia is ascribed to both brothers. In favour of James' conclusion one might further argue that, unless Jambres repents and becomes a proselyte, the message of the book may be shown to have had no effect. That is to say, Jannes' admonitions, addressed to his brother from the bowels of the earth, will have fallen on deaf ears and, consequently, the author of our book (if his aim was to warn his readership) may be seen as being at cross purposes with himself. To avoid reaching this conclusion, one may be induced to posit a happy end for Jambres.

Somehow these arguments fail to convince. Though it is true that the title ascribes paenitentia to both, the ultimate fate of the two brothers, in James' scenario, would nevertheless be opposite. Jannes remains in hell, but Jambres is placed (at least incipiently) in heaven. A note of caution should be sounded here: no tradition

can be cited which makes a distinction between their respective ends, and this includes the *Penitence of Cyprian* which says that the pair, in spite of acknowledging the finger of God, did not obtain forgiveness. Of course, an identical treatment in the traditions may be no more than a kind of human hendiadys, i.e. a fusing of two individuals into one paradigm; yet it leaves one uneasy, the more since the *Penitence of Cyprian* also states that Satan called Cyprian a new Jambres, suggesting thereby something of an independent career in magic for Jannes' successor.

Alternatively, it may be argued that Jambres did indeed turn a deaf ear to his brother's words and that, as a result, his fate illustrates the point made, for example, in the closing sentence of the parable of The Rich Man and Lazarus: "If they do not hear Moses and the prophets, neither will they be convinced if some one should rise from the dead" (Lk 16:31). Such obstinate refusal to listen, on the part of Jambres, would perfectly echo the same attitude displayed by Jannes throughout his struggle against God, and hence underline it. Given this scenario, one could read the attribution of confession to both brothers in the title of the *Decretum* as underscoring the central, dominant role played in the book by Jannes' paenitentia. In other words, his paenitentia was regarded as characterizing the entire composition. On the other hand, even though the climactic role of Jannes' paenitentia scarcely leaves room, in the structure of the book, for one of similar size by Jambres, a simple statement of posthumous regret on the part of Jambres need not be deemed incompatible with the role of Jannes' confession.

Also possible is that Jambres, like Wagner in the Faust tale, simply disappears. Though Wagner is duly instructed in magic, inherits Faust's magical books and thus becomes his successor, his own story remains undeveloped in the Faust book. He simply vanishes from the reader's view. Jambres *may* have been little more than the vehicle for Jannes' paenitentia.

But recognizing the importance of Jannes' confession for the central thrust of our book does not absolve us of trying to discern the *Sitz im Leben* of book and author alike. That is to say, even if we are correct in concluding that the author held up Jannes (and Jambres?) as an example not to be followed or as a stubborn sinner who, by his own admission, got his just deserts, what geographical location and historical circumstances may have produced his book? On the question of location, it is probable that the place of origin was Egypt.

As we will argue in due time, the author's inspiration for the magicians' paradise (see no. 5 above) derived, in all likelihood, from an Egyptian setting. The date of our book cannot be pinpointed precisely but a reasonable conjecture can nonetheless be made. We may recall that Origen in the third century of our era not only knew of the existence of *Jannes and Jambres* but that both he and his contemporaries who rejected 2 Timothy, since it was indebted to an apocryphal work, imply a Pauline date. While this can by no means be taken as proof, the book was clearly not regarded as a recent composition. Furthermore, if Numenius of Apamea in ii AD, as we have already suggested, shows acquaintance with our book, a date earlier than Numenius is in any case assured, and an even earlier date may be indicated, if the writer of 2 Timothy was in fact familiar with our book, as Origen alleged and as we will argue in the *Notes* on Beatty 1ef1. The date of this evidence, however, fluctuates with the question of Pauline authorship of 2 Timothy. All in all, then, it is likely that our book originated no later than ii AD and a date in i AD is quite plausible. In an Egyptian context either date assures a Jewish rather than Christian origin.

When we next look for an appropriate *Sitz im Leben*, the first century of Roman rule in Egypt presents itself as an appropriate setting. As is well known, this period, for Egyptian Jewry, was one of great upheaval and stress, which found partial expression in a book such as 3 Maccabees, whose author cloaked his confrontational message, aimed at the government-in-power, in stereotypical stories from the Ptolemaic era (which is not to deny all historicity to 3 Maccabees). Similarly, the author of *Jannes and Jambres* may be seen to be aiming his barbs at the authorities using, instead, a biblical tale from Pharaonic times as his vehicle. The fate he pictures for them is reminiscent of Nebuchadnezzar's fate in Dan 4: downfall followed by admission of wrong-doing. That our author was well acquainted with this story will become clear presently.

Against the kind of background we have suggested, it becomes possible that the magicians and their mother are meant to embody actual historical personages, and it is tempting to think that the mother and the important role she plays in the book somehow reflect one or more of the prominent women we meet in Ptolemaic-Roman politics. Furthermore, anti-Jewish imperial henchmen such as Sejanus and Flaccus, Prefect of Egypt, would be apt models for our two opponents of Moses. At present, however, we lack the detailed

information to make specific equations, if such were in fact intended.

Interestingly enough, it seems probable that both the *tradition* about Jannes and Jambres as well as the *book* detailing their subsequent role as Pharaoh's magicians had their origin in situations of confrontation. The one, as we have argued, emerged from the internecine struggles within Palestinian Jewry of ii BC, the other was written, we have suggested, during the darkest period of Egyptian Jewry around the turning of the era or shortly thereafter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

JANNES AND JAMBRES AND ASSOCIATED LITERATURE

Explicit knowledge of a book featuring the story of Jannes and Jambres we have found widely dispersed in the ancient and mediæval worlds. More particularly, as we have already had occasion to mention, a considerable variety of authors was seemingly familiar with certain aspects of their tale as told in the book. Thus John of Nikiu was aware of a book of magic in the possession of the two brothers; Philostorgius was familiar with the part the mother played in the story; Cyprian knew that Jambres had a status distinct from that of his brother and also was acquainted with the magicians' having been denied divine pardon (for more on this see below); and Catherine recognized them as famous necromancers. Since all of these details can be found in our book, there is good reason to believe that the persons responsible for these works, directly or indirectly, drew on *Jannes and Jambres*. Added to these is a tradition centered on Macarius of Alexandria, extant in three versions, which shows acquaintance with the magicians' paradise and their private estate near Memphis, both of which appear in our book. Detailed discussion of this material will be given in the *Notes* on 1cd + ↓. Similarly, that 2Tim 3:8-9 may well presuppose knowledge of our book will be argued in due time (see *Notes* on 1ef↓).

The Gelasian Decree, one of several sources which attest the existence of a book on Jannes and Jambres, not only speaks of the *Paenitentia Iamne et Mambre* but further includes in its list of apocryphal books a number of other works which bear similar titles. All of these are in fact called *Paenitentiae*. We will briefly examine them to see if the similarity between these and our book perhaps extends significantly beyond the title.

Decretum line 297 mentions the *Paenitentia Adae*. Though a work (in fact two of them, according to Stone) with this title is extant in Armenian and has been published by Michael Stone (*The Penitence of Adam* [CSCO 430]. Leuven, 1981) the reference in the *Decretum* is likely to the *Life of Adam and Eve* (cf. Dobschütz p. 304 and Stone p. ix), which is extant in both Greek and Latin (see OTPs 2, 249ff.) and labeled *Paenitentia* in some manuscripts. It is quite clear,

however, that the *Life* has no connection of any importance with *Jannes and Jambres*, apart from the fact that, in various contexts (see chapters 1-11), it treats of the contrition of Adam and Eve after having been expelled from Eden. Nor does the text published by Stone in any way enhance the relationship between our book and the Adam literature. Consequently, no meaningful relationship can be said to exist, despite the title.

A second work with similar title, mentioned in the *Decretum* (line 301), is the *Paenitentia Origenis*, thought to be identical with the *Placatus* or *Lamentatio Origenis* (cf. Dobschütz p. 306). If this identification is correct, we are again forced to conclude that, though the work is a confession by a penitent sinner, specific similarities with our book beyond this point are not in evidence. Indeed, although the *Life of Adam and Eve*, like our book, has a narrative framework, even this is lacking in the *Lament* (for the text see A. C. Vega in BRAHPE). Clearly, neither the *Life* nor the *Lament* bears any closer relationship to *Jannes and Jambres* than e.g. the *Prayer of Manasseh*, Aseneth's confession in JosAsen 12, the confession prescribed for Israel in 1Bar 1:15-3:8 or, for that matter, the various confessions in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. As Elias Bickerman has noted, the Greek period saw the development of public confession into a literary genre (*The Jews in the Greek Age* p. 205 f.). That *Jannes and Jambres*, like many other works, features a contrite sinner (who is, however, beyond forgiveness) is true, but farther than this general characterization we are scarcely warranted to go, the more since the fragmentary state of our text precludes detailed delineation.

A third title mentioned in the *Decretum* (line 302) is of more interest since the book's protagonist, like our two brothers, is a magician. The *Paenitentia sancti Cypriani*, a work we have already encountered on several occasions, is a first-person account by Cyprian of Antioch, a former magician, about his conversion to Christianity. He relates at great length how, initiated into the mysteries at an early age, he occupied himself with the study and practice of magic. When at some point in his professional career he was enlisted by a suitor to procure the love of a young lady, the failure of his magic against her faith vividly demonstrated to him the devil's impotence. Having turned to Justina's God—for so the girl was named—Cyprian publicly bewailed his past and repeatedly voiced his fear that God would not forgive him. When, however, the contrary is demonstrated from scripture, the tale ends happily with the burning

of the magical books and Cyprian's entry into the Church.

M. R. James ("A Fragment" p. 575) has suggested that the contents of *Jannes and Jambres* must have been similar to that of Cyprian's *Paenitentia*. That is to say, James maintains, like the latter it must have been a tale which portrayed the practice of black magic and its failure when confronted with the power of the true God. James expresses doubt, however, that our magicians will have made as fine an end as Cyprian. Moreover, since on two occasions our heroes are explicitly mentioned in Cyprian's book, James surmises that it is "far from unlikely" that *Jannes and Jambres* has served as a model for the *Confession of Cyprian*.

It should be noted, perhaps, that the similarity James posits between the two tales is of a somewhat general nature (i.e. a magician is defeated by divine power), and for that very reason is not likely to be incorrect. Not unexpectedly, therefore, the new materials, which have come to light since James wrote, have not invalidated his surmise. Even though we still do not have a blow by blow account (if such was ever featured) of the contest between Moses (and Aaron) and Jannes (and Jambres), its outcome is patently obvious from the outline of the book which we have given in I.6. Nonetheless, it should not go unnoticed that, on the point of comparison James draws, *Cyprian* and *Jannes and Jambres* are in a category all by themselves among ancient Jewish-Christian compositions. But once we push beyond the general features of a magician's legend, differences emerge as well. We note, for example, that unlike Cyprian's account, the story of our book has been cast as a third-person-singular narrative, even though Jannes' *paenitentia* from hell (see I.6.18ff.) is direct discourse. Admittedly, it is possible that this central feature of *Jannes and Jambres* exerted a formative influence on Cyprian's tale by inspiring a first- rather than third-person narrative. Moreover, if what we have posited as our book's likely message is correct—whether thus intended by the author or so interpreted by his readership is unimportant—the central thrust of the two works will have diverged rather markedly; again, however, the difference could be reduced, in this case by conjecturing a happy ending for Jambres, as James is inclined to posit. Other more salient points of dissimilarity are the roles of the respective females, in the one case the mother of the two magicians who evidently is a participant in the struggle, in the other a desirable young woman who is the object of the magician's craft. Furthermore, whereas Cyprian is hired to employ his

powers for the procurement of a female, Jannes is a self-propelled opponent of divine power, though ostensibly, of course, he is in Pharaoh's employ. Finally, neither the paradise nor the magical contest, important features in *Jannes and Jambres*, play any part in the *Confession of Cyprian*.

That the references in Cyprian's *Paenitentia* to our magicians may indicate, as James has suggested, an acquaintance with our book, as we have noted in I.6, is not unlikely, in spite of the dissimilarities. In the first passage (PenCyp §6) Satan is represented as hailing Cyprian as "a clever lad, a new Jambres, ready for service [and] worthy of fellowship with him [Satan]," (εὐφυνὲς . . . μεϊράκιον . . . νέον Ἰαμβρὴν, εὐτονον εἰς λειτουργίαν, ἄξιον τῆς κοινωνίας ἐκείνου) and in the second (PenCyp §17) Cyprian despairingly laments that if God did not pardon Jannes and Jambres, though they acknowledged the finger of God, how will he, who surpassed them in wickedness, be able to obtain forgiveness. What is clearly of interest in these passages is that, in both cases, the information conveyed is unique in the traditions about our pair. No other tradition gives any measure of independence to Jambres and no other tradition states explicitly that they were not forgiven. To be sure, the latter piece of information may be no more than an inference based on the traditions, but it is certainly significant that Beatty 6↓ 24 has Jannes say from Hades: "But now there is for us no forgiveness." (Whether or not the first-person-plural reference includes Jambres need not concern us here.) The former reference, however, to a seemingly independent role for Jambres, points less ambiguously to the book. Even if Jambres does not persist till the end in his evil ways—and we have suggested earlier that he does—the book unmistakably portrays him as Jannes' successor (see I.6.12) and has him conjure up his brother's shade from Hades (I.6.18). Since, as we have already noted, the traditions treat Jannes and Jambres as a single paradigm, whereas the book clearly differentiates their respective roles in the drama, it would seem warranted to conclude that the author of Cyprian's *Paenitentia* was familiar with *Jannes and Jambres*. Alternatively, we would need to posit that he knew traditions other than those that have survived, apart from the book but nonetheless in harmony with the book.

Certain points of similarity may also be noted between our magicians and Simon Magus, who is portrayed in early Christian literature as the great heretic or apostate who led believers astray. (For

ancient references to Simon see R. P. Casey, "Simon Magus," *The Beginnings of Christianity* 5 p. 151, and for his legend see Palmer and More *Sources* pp. 12-40.) For our purposes the relevant facts are as follows: 1. Simon's opposition to Christian doctrine, rather than being a question of ignorance (as Cyprian's was), was deliberate, like Jannes' opposition to Moses (I.6.10 above). 2. As Jannes and Moses were locked in mortal combat, so Peter, in line with Acts 8, is portrayed as *the* opponent of Simon. (Macarius of Egypt *Sermones* 64 [GCS 2, 3, 9] makes this explicit comparison.) 3. Simon's stage, at least for his final contest with Peter, was Nero's court, and a similar grand stage, Pharaoh's palace, was the scene of at least Jannes' magical contest with Moses (I.6.10). 4. Simon was widely hailed as a god—as was Jannes according to at least one tradition about our pair (I.3.18); the book, however, seems not have made such an extravagant claim, since it makes Jannes into a descendant of a priest of Apis, and probably a priest himself. 5. Simon was brought down while in flight above Rome, and the flight of Jannes and Jambres above the Red Sea was likewise terminated prematurely, according to some traditions about their death (I.3.26-28). This item, however, is directly contradicted by the book since, according to it, neither brother accompanied the king in his pursuit of the Hebrews (I.6.13). 6. In neither Simon's nor Jannes' tale is there a paenitentia before death and, consequently, unlike magicians' legends such as those of Cyprian, Proterius, Theophilus of Adana and Anthemius, the ultimate fate of the chief protagonist was damnation.

Whether we have in Jannes and Jambres a tale which, in addition to the legends of Simon Magus, Cyprian of Antioch, Proterius, Theophilus and Anthemius, should be cited as a forerunner of the Faust legend is not immediately obvious. (For these legends as forerunners of Faust see Palmer and More *Sources* and Radermacher *Griechische Quellen*.) If the essence of the latter is perceived to be that of an individual engaged in the practice of magic who willfully sold his soul to the devil in exchange for knowledge and power and, as a consequence, is damned in hell, there are certainly similarities in broad outline. That is to say, the story of Jannes and Jambres, like the Faust tale, can be labeled a magus legend since it features at least some of the characteristics which the well-known Germanist E. M. Butler in her book *The Myth of the Magus* has delineated for such legends. In total she lists ten features, not all of which, according to her, are of equal importance nor need all apply in every case. We

give them in the order in which Butler has enumerated them. 1. Supernatural or mysterious origin of the hero. The range here may be from the divine to the diabolic. 2. Portents at birth, disclosing the hero's origin and vouching for his nature. 3. Perils menacing his infancy. These first three features, according to Butler, are meant to emphasize the hero's special nature. 4. Some kind of initiation, which functions as a period of preparation for the hero. 5. Far distant wanderings (to seek or to spread wisdom), which may comprise travel to distant places, ascent into heaven or descent into the underworld, and may occur in the middle or at the end of the hero's life, or both. 6. A magical contest. Understandably, this is a constituent element in magus legends. 7. A trial or persecution, which may develop from the contest. Writes Butler, "The hero wins the magical contest, but is nearly always vanquished at the trial, which generally brings about his doom" (p. 3). 8. A last scene, which may have a sacrificial/sacramental character or consist of a solemn farewell, a confession or a repentance. 9. A violent or mysterious death. The hero's exit, according to Butler, may be followed by the descent into Hades mentioned under 5. And finally 10, a resurrection and/or ascension.

Even though Butler's magus legend scarcely qualifies as a literary genre in any strict sense—her list is a collection from a wide variety of tales—, enough of her characteristics can perhaps be found in the Jannes and Jambres story to make the term useful for our purposes, despite the fact that precise delineation is often hampered by the fragmentary nature of our evidence. Thus, regarding the first three items, which relate to the hero's special nature, we must unfortunately remain to a large extent in the dark, since the beginning pages of *Jannes and Jambres* are rather fragmentary, and the traditions, though often calling our heroes "magicians" (an epithet also used in the Michigan text and probably in the opening lines of the Beatty papyrus) and on one occasion even "gods," do not address the questions of origin *per se*. All we can glean from the book (see I.6.2) is that the brothers were of priestly descent (cf. also Numenius who calls them "sacred scribes"). A more extravagant claim can hardly be expected in a Jewish-Christian context. (Note e.g. that the closest Faust is allowed to come to being divine is receiving a theological degree!) It may even be that the author of our book deliberately precluded any suggestion of supernatural origin by supplying the magicians' human genealogy. "Portents at birth," Butler's 2,

are not touched on in any of the extant materials, but 3—“perils menacing the hero’s infancy”—may be reflected in the flight by Balaam and his two sons, Jannes and Jambres, to the king of Cush (I.3.9). But whether these traditions played any role in the book we do not know. Though the Michigan papyrus renders it likely that Balaam appeared in the book (I.6.2), we are completely in the dark about the inclusion of the stay in Cush. Butler’s fourth characteristic—“initiation”—may be sought in the brothers’ association with the Apis cult. It is indeed likely that they are portrayed in the book as having specific cultic connections (cf. I.6.6). Moreover, since the two brothers are magicians, some kind of initiation and hence preparation for their career in the art of magic may have been presupposed, and there is some evidence to suggest (see *Notes* on 5a + ↓) that Jannes possessed a demon. Since Butler’s fifth feature—“distant wanderings”—may occur at the end of the hero’s life, Jannes’ descent into Hades towards the conclusion of the book (I.6.18) may be seen as fulfilling this requirement. He clearly acquires insight of some sort and communicates this to his brother (I.6.19ff.). As Butler notes (*Ibid.* p. 142), in Faust’s case the descent into Hades is represented by eternal damnation in hell, though Faust also experienced a dream journey into the netherworld (see also p. 132). About the presence of 6—“magical contest”—in our materials, there can be no doubt (I.6.10), even though its importance may well be subordinate to that of the paradise the magicians planted (cf. I.6.5). Quite clearly, other occasions of confrontation had preceded the contest in magic (see e.g. I.6.6). What to make of Butler’s seventh characteristic—“trial or persecution”—is not immediately apparent in our story. It is not impossible that Jannes was portrayed as having won the contest as such or, in any case, fought Moses to a draw. The book states explicitly (I.6.10) that, when Jannes was summoned into Pharaoh’s presence, he matched the feats of Moses (and Aaron). Numenius, however, went one step farther and claimed that Jannes (and Jambres) were able to *undo* (ἐπιλύομαι) even the most violent of the calamities which Moses brought against Egypt. What seemingly brought him down and what could therefore be described as the reversal of the contest was his being afflicted with a fatal illness (cf. I.6, 10, 12) and the divinely fixed terminus of his life (I.6.9). Consequently, his doom was sealed not by his losing to Moses in the magical contest but by factors external to the contest *per se*. Moreover, if 4a + ↓ 12 has been recon-

structed correctly, we have explicit reference to accusations awaiting him in Memphis. The presence of "trial/persecution" in our story cannot, in any case, seriously be doubted. Butler's last three characteristics—"last scene" (8), "violent end" (9), "resurrection" (10)—are clearly present in the book in some form, though their precise delineation may not be immediately obvious. The "last scene" may be represented by Jannes' farewell to his mother and friends but more particularly by his appointing of Jambres as his successor and his instructions to his brother (I.6.12). Though, as is often the case, we are hampered by the fragmentary nature of our texts, it is nonetheless obvious that Jannes' speech to his brother (I.6.12-13) comprises at least ten to fifteen lines (see 4a + 1) and includes not only directives pertaining to the document he is entrusting to Jambres and warnings pertaining to his brother's well-being but also (apparently) instructions regarding the mother. The speech does not, for obvious reasons, constitute a confession or repentance. Alternatively, we have a reversal of the "last scene" and the "violent end," with Jannes' confession from hell (I.6.19ff.) functioning as the "last scene." Whatever the case, there can be little doubt that "resurrection and/or ascension" (10) comes in the form of the necromancy scene (I.6.18).

But even if the Jannes and Jambres tale may be classified as a magus legend, can one label it in more specific terms an ancestor of the Faust legend? Henry Chadwick, on the basis of the Latin and Vienna texts plus whatever traditions he had assembled, evidently saw a closer connection than we have thus far sketched. At the 14th International Congress of Papyrologists (Oxford 1974), he presented a paper with the intriguing title, "The Penitence of Jannes and Jambres: The Origins of the Faust Legend." Regrettably, this paper was not included in the volume of Proceedings, nor was it evidently published subsequently. Naturally, Chadwick's title has also brought within our purview the legends previously linked with Faust, namely, those of Simon Magus, Cyprian of Antioch, Helladius-Proterius, Theophilus of Adana and Anthemius. Unlike the Jannes (and Jambres?) legend, however, these magus tales (with the exception of Simon), in typical Christian fashion, were shaped as anecdotes about repentance, confession and salvation (cf. *Myth* p. 98). If the term "origins" in Chadwick's title means that the long line of magus legends, which in the sixteenth century gave rise to the Faust legend, received some formative impetus from the legend of

Jannes and Jambres, his claim is entirely plausible, if for no other reason than that the last named tale represents one of the earliest, if not indeed *the* earliest, full-blown magus legend in Judaeo-Christian tradition, since by no later than iii AD, and probably well before, the story of our magical pair had already been penned in book form. To attempt to delineate, within the general framework of the magus legend, features unique to the two tales in question would take us too far afield and, moreover, holds little promise of commensurate results.

Certainly, a key feature of the Faust legend, namely, the written pact with the devil, can be traced as far back as the legends of Proterius, Theophilus and Anthemius, and a pact in less developed form may perhaps be present in Cyprian since he is required to take an oath by the powers of Satan. On closer scrutiny, however, one realizes that, in the tales of Proterius, Theophilus and Anthemius, it is the pact through which the person in question gains power to achieve his objective. In the Proterius tale the pact furnishes the power to make Proterius' daughter fall in love with her suitor; Theophilus by means of the pact is enabled to regain his ecclesiastical position; and Anthemius, after signing the pact, comes to his senses before making use of the power placed at his disposal. In precisely the same way, Faust is enabled to achieve his ends through the compact he signs with the devil, though previously he had already had limited success due to his study of magic. Cyprian's oath, however, serves a decidedly different purpose. Rather than providing Cyprian with power to reach his goals, the oath is meant to ensure Cyprian's continued loyalty, after the devil's divulging to him the defeat he and his minions suffered at the hands of Christ and the punishment that awaits them. Since he was a professional magician, Cyprian's power need not have been based on a contract with the devil but might reside in his skill, acquired through training within the various (demonic) cults. From early youth, he tells us, he had been instructed in magic.

Whether the pact was part of the Jannes and Jambres tale we do not know for certain. Evidence suggests that the document entrusted by Jannes to Jambres, in Memphis, was in any case not simply a book of magic (for further discussion see *Notes* on 4a + →). One might object, of course, that since Jannes (and probably Jambres as well) was, like Cyprian, a professional magician, with cultic connections, his power could have been gained through training and hence

would have been based primarily on skill, rather than on a pact with the devil. There is, however, no compelling reason to regard acquired skill and signed agreement as mutually exclusive. That he was an instrument of a supra-human power, with or without a written pact, can scarcely be doubted. Indeed, that he was such a tool is stated at the very beginning of our tradition in CD 5, 17b-19: "... Belial raised up Yoḥanah and his brother..." (Cf. also Mastema's role in aiding the magicians in Jub 48:9.) And even if a pact be absent, this need not preclude that he made use of demons. We have already noted that he may well have possessed one (or more). Moreover, Jewish tradition often asserts that the magicians who opposed Moses employed demons without any explicit reference to a pact (see also *Testament of Ephraem*).

But perhaps we can discover clearer similarity between *Faust* and *Jannes and Jambres*, if we view the former from a somewhat different perspective. Though the contract with the devil is clearly a central feature in the Faust tale, other elements can be discerned as playing a similarly important role. Thus Butler for one (*Myth* p. 128) has maintained that the very soul of the Spies and English Faust books is "a hardened sinner who cannot and will not repent." Indeed, much material from the book can be marshaled in support of this view, even though the author of the Spies Faust book, as Alfred Hoelzel has recently argued at length (*Quest* [1988] pp. 23-44), also portrays its chief protagonist as a victim of the devil's power, cunning and skills of entrapment. In light of Butler's characterization a significant point of contact with the Jannes and Jambres tale begins to come into view. We have already had occasion to delineate how Jannes, willfully and single-mindedly, pressed his opposition to Moses. Even though keenly aware that the power operative in Moses comes from God, he continues his struggle. In fact, this knowledge seems to fuel his fight. No matter what warnings are sent his way, he persists in his rivalry with Moses (God). This aspect of a man willfully defying God until the bitter end, which is shared by the two tales (cf. also Simon Magus), looms the larger if Butler is correct in maintaining that Faust's other magical predecessors were represented as repenting in the nick of time or else were whisked off to hell without warning. Faust knew when his day of departure would come. When his twenty-four years were up, the devil fetched him. Jannes too knew the day of his death, since he had been granted

a reprieve of fixed duration. Both men, however, remained obdurate till the end.

Though it would be difficult to argue (partly because our text is fragmentary) that Jannes, like Faust of the Spies Faust book and of the English version, was a hardened sinner but also, in a measure, a tragic hero, it is nonetheless clear that the author of *Jannes and Jambres* was not devoid of positive feeling toward his protagonist. That is to say, Jannes' obduracy as a sinner is perhaps mitigated to an extent by his positive human qualities. So, for example, when he leaves for Memphis, he embraces his friends and bravely fights back tears when taking leave of his mother, and when he is *in extremis* himself, he does his best to ensure her safety. In similar vein, he expresses concern about his brother's well-being and comforts his friends (or fellow courtiers) over the king's death, even though he himself faces his final moments. Indeed, all we can read in our fragments about inter-personal relations among the two brothers and their mother reflects an attitude of care and concern.

We have already noted that the identical fate of Jannes and Faust, namely eternal damnation, suggests a similarity of purpose and/or function between *Jannes and Jambres* and the Spies Faust book of 1587 as well as its English translation. But other magician tales with like endings would presumably have had a like function.

In conclusion, it may be noted that the tale of Jannes and Jambres in some respects resembles the court legend, a genre of literature recently discussed in great detail by Lawrence M. Wills in his *The Jew in the Court of the Foreign King* (1990). The (main) setting of our story is indeed a royal court and its nub is a conflict between, at least, one courtier (Jannes) and a second (Moses), whose precise relationship to the court, however, is not now discernible from our text. Moreover, the means by which superiority is demonstrated in our story (magic), though not wisdom *per se*, might nonetheless be described as a kind of mantic wisdom, such as in Dan 2, 4 and 5. If the latter interpretation be granted, we would then have, in *Jannes and Jambres*, the two main foci of the genre, namely, court and wisdom (Wills p. 198). We should, however, also note a significant difference: it is difficult to find in our tale a hero who represents a ruled ethnic (or social) group, who is vindicated in the end. Jannes, not Moses, is clearly the protagonist, but rather than being vindicated, he receives his just deserts for his stubborn opposition to Moses (and God). If our story features any vindication at all, it is the vin-

dication of the antagonist, Moses, who, to be sure, might be viewed as a representative of a ruled ethnic group. In any case, it is not implausible that our tale was intended to play some role in cultural apologetics.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE CODICOLOGY OF P. CHESTER BEATTY XVI

How, where and when Papyrus Chester Beatty XVI was discovered is unfortunately unknown and can no longer be traced with any degree of certainty. No accession number was assigned by the Chester Beatty Library either at its time of acquisition or of conservation; consequently, no description of the eight frames of fragments can be found in the Library's registry of accessions. The current label on one of the frames "Book of Jannes and Jambres" was appended after my identification sometime in 1972. Even the place of conservation is not completely certain, as is the case with many other papyrus fragments in the Library's possession including, for example, P. Chester Beatty XV (see my *The Acts of Phileas Bishop of Thmuis* p. 11). It is known that conservation work on papyri owned by Chester Beatty was carried out both in Dublin and at the British Museum. Since, however, Frame 1 was certainly among materials received in 1985 by the Chester Beatty from the British Museum (as well as the stray fragment added to Frame 8), it is likely that all the fragments of our papyrus were conserved in London rather than in Dublin, particularly since the conservation work on them all looks identical, including the tape used for binding the glass. It is somewhat surprising, in that case, that the literary work in question was not identified, especially since the names of the two magicians are quite legible in our text. Unlike the Phileas papyrus, Papyrus Chester Beatty XVI has been conserved competently.

Obviously, from an editor's point of view, far more important than the precise place of conservation is the state and condition of the manuscript at the time of conservation. One would dearly like to know, for example, whether the Jannes and Jambres materials were among the contents of a "box of loose fragments" which, according to the Chester Beatty records, was sent to the British Museum in 1956 or whether the unknown conservator in London encountered the manuscript in some semblance of its original unity. (Mr. Stanley Baker of the British Museum [letter dated May 24, 1977] surmises that Hugo Ibscher may have mounted the fragments in the early 1930s, but his information is uncertain.) Similar looking

fragments were clearly associated, but it is not clear whether this is attributable to the trained eye of the conservator or the physical state of the manuscript at the time of conservation. Though in some instances all fragments grouped together into one frame or glass can well have belonged to a single leaf (folio) of papyrus, in other cases such a relationship is precluded purely on the basis of the document's format. Naturally, in our reconstruction of the manuscript we have worked on the assumption that fragments framed together belong together, unless there are contrary indications based on space, content and the like.

The total number of fragments is 100, varying in size from a mere sliver of circa .3 cmB × 2.5 cmH (Frame 8p) to circa 10.1 cmB × 16.5 cmH (3a). The text was written in a single column to a page, though the breadth and height of the written column was expectedly not kept entirely uniform from page to page. Unlike the Vienna and Michigan papyri of our book, both of which belong to scrolls, P. Chester Beatty XVI is part of a codex.

Since no complete page has survived, the original format of the document must be based on estimate, with due allowance for variation in page size in the original document (cf. Turner, *Typology* p. 8). With the help of the Vienna papyrus, fragments 4a and 4b can be reconstructed to yield a full page in height and can thus give us the original height of the document, namely, circa 22.5 cm. Approximately the same measurement can be reached by other means. For example, fragment 3a→ has an upper margin of circa 2.5 cm and, judging from the Vienna papyrus, must have had circa 23 lines of text. Since 17 lines (measured from top of line to top of line) occupy 13.8 cm, 23 lines would need circa 18.5 cm. When we add 2.5 cm for the upper margin and 2 cm for the lower margin (see 3b→), we arrive at circa 23 cm—well within striking distance of the 22.5 cm based on 4ab. Another confirmation for the height may come from the binding technique used, and will be discussed below.

That the ratio of upper and lower margins was originally 2:3, in accordance with Turner's rule of thumb (*Typology* p. 25), seems rather unlikely, since no lower margin wider than 2.6 cm (3h + 4c↓, but contrast →) has survived. Other apparently fully preserved upper and lower margins measure: 1. upper: c. 2.5 cm (1b→ 3a→), c. 2 cm (1b↓ 3a↓); 2. lower: c. 1.4 cm (3h + 4c→ 2a→ 3b→ 8r↓), c. 2.5 cm (2a↓ 8r→) c. 2 cm (3b→), c. 1.2 cm (5f→), c. .5 cm (5f↓).

Not surprisingly, the lower margin shows more variation than the upper.

The inside margin on 3a→ is fully intact and measures circa 1.6 cm, and at its widest preserved point the column of writing is circa 6.6 cm (lines 16-17). Judging from line 8 which can perhaps be reconstructed with the greatest confidence (cf. Vienna frag. B), original line length must have been circa 28 letters extending over circa 12 cm, a letter count which compares favourably with 2a→ lines 14-15 where the text is virtually continuous (την βιβ[λιο]/θηκην). In the latter case, however, the line must have measured nearly 13 cm and, as will become clear in subsequent discussions, we must allow in fact for a variation of circa 1 cm in the width of the column of writing. Though 3a→ itself has no preserved outside margin, the margin on 6f↓ and 6i↓ measures 1.6 cm and suggests that inside and outside margins were of approximately equal width. (Other fully preserved inside margins measure c. 1.6 cm [1d→↓ 7a↓→] and c. 1.5 cm [5a↓→].) The breadth of 3a↓ must therefore have been: circa 1.6 cm (inside marg.) + circa 12 cm (col. of writing) + circa 1.6 cm (outside marg.) = circa 15.2 cm, or better circa 16.2, if we use the line length of 2a→ as the point of departure. Consequently, the original format of Papyrus Chester Beatty XVI apparently was circa 15.2/16.2 cmB × 22.5/23 cmH.

The original height we have estimated for our document, partly on the basis of a textual comparison with the Vienna fragments, may receive confirmation from the way it had evidently been bound. Fragments 3a, 5b, 7a and 8k all feature binding holes through which a thread was passed from the lower to upper cover (assuming it had such), which evidently functioned to bind together the sheets (bifolios) of *Jannes and Jambres*. We have no evidence that the text-block included other documents besides, though this may have been the case, but no pagination is extant. The direction of the thread is clear from the turned-up and corresponding turned-down edges of the holes. Quite clearly, it was fed through the upper hole from the back of the gathered sheets to the front. A lower hole, visible on both sides of the central fold on 3a, shows the same direction on the left side of the fold but the reverse on the right; hence the thread was here inserted from the front rather than the back. Since the distance from the top of the folio to the first binding hole is circa 3.2 cm and since fragment 7a has 3.2 cm of unperforated left margin, the holes much have been at least 3.2 cm apart vertically. Moreover, since the

distance between the two preserved holes in 3a is divisible by 3.2 cm, it is not impossible that the original number of holes was six, positioned at vertical intervals of 3.2 cm. This would give us a total original height for our document of circa 22.4 cm, a measurement which accords well with our estimate reached on other grounds. (We will assume that 22.5 is the correct figure for the height, since this is the measurement of an actual page [4abe].) That our document would have featured a single hole at 3.2 cm from the upper edge and another single hole at approximately twice that distance from the lower edge seems inherently improbable. Most likely is that a pair of holes, 3.2 cm from the upper edge and the same distance apart vertically, was made near the head of the page and that the same was done near the foot. Consequently, whether one posits six binding holes or four, the conclusion on the total height of the book would be the same. The original format was therefore probably 15.2/16.2 cmB × 22.5 cmH, a size which puts it in Turner's Group 7, for which he gives the standard measurement circa 15 cmB × 25 cmH, with a breadth to height ratio of 3:5. The ratio of our document would, however, be nearer 2:3. The majority of manuscripts in Group 7 falls in iii-iv centuries, though representatives of later dates are also given.

As we have indicated, the binding thread passed through the top hole from the back of the quire to the front, but through the lower hole from front to back. If the total number was six rather than four, the binder could not simply have stitched the thread through the holes in sequence, since in that case the fifth hole should have shown a turned-up edge. Since the number of holes was more likely four, the upper and lower sewing was probably done separately, as is said to have been the case, for example, in P. Bodmer II, though the distance between the members of the pairs is rather less (12 mm versus 32 mm in ours; the total height of P. Bodmer II is given as 16.2 cm versus 22.5 cm of Beatty). Other examples of the stabbed-stitched style of binding are Chester Beatty Biblical Papyrus I, the Pierpont Morgan Iliad, and recently discovered wooden documents from the Dakhleh Oasis (see A. J. Mills "A Penguin in the Sahara"). The ancient binder of our book positioned the holes, which measure circa 2 mm in diameter, approximately 5 mm from the central fold. The holes show little wear, which suggests that the quire was tightly bound, so that individual pages were kept securely in place—unless perchance the pages were re-bound at a relatively recent date.

Obviously with the type of binding it had, our book would not readily have lain open nor could it have been easy to read given the narrow margins between the holes and the writing.

It is likely that *Jannes and Jambres* was written in a single gathering or quire. The earliest leaves, beginning with the initial folio of our document, show a $\rightarrow \downarrow$ order, while later in the document we find the reverse sequence, but the precise point at which the change in order takes place is not certain. How to order the pages of the document is not immediately obvious, even though a number of clues are available. First of all, we have the binding holes in 3a, 5b, 7a, which we discussed above. Since these holes at once identify the inside margin, they also make clear whether in a given instance the order should be $\rightarrow \downarrow$ or $\downarrow \rightarrow$. A second clue for the order of the pages is, naturally, the sequence of the narrative, especially when the story line is evident from either the Vienna text or the British Library Latin. For example, Vienna A, which tells the story of Jannes' departure (with Jambres) to Memphis, demonstrates that the order for 4a must be $\rightarrow \downarrow$. Likewise, Vienna B shows that the order for 3a as well must be $\rightarrow \downarrow$, and on the basis of the (Latin) British Library text it becomes evident that 5a $\rightarrow$, which speaks of Jambres' act of necromancy, must precede 6b $\downarrow$, which evidently gives the dimensions of Jannes' abode in Hades, as related by his shade. A third clue is the present shape of certain fragments. For example, the shape of both 3a and 4a confirms the $\rightarrow \downarrow$ sequence (already clear from the Vienna papyrus and the binding holes in 3a) and suggests that these two pages belong in close proximity.

When we put together the various clues on page order as well as the number of pages represented in the individual frames, we can delineate the following. Frame 1 contains remnants of six pages (ab, cd, ef), possibly pages 1-6 of our document. The page order is $\rightarrow \downarrow$ for all six. Next we have placed Frame 2, which represents at least four pages (a, h) and shows an order of $\rightarrow \downarrow$. Frame 3 also holds at least six pages (a + , g, h) and continues the $\rightarrow \downarrow$ order. Frame 4 must contain some four pages (abe, c). The order again is $\rightarrow \downarrow$. Frame 5 has a minimum of four pages (abcfjp, deghiklmno). At this point in the document the page order has definitely become $\downarrow \rightarrow$, judging from the binding hole in 5b. Moreover, on 5b $\downarrow$ Jannes is still alive, while on 5b $\rightarrow$ he is dead. Frame 6 may well constitute a single folio, i.e. two pages, and continue the order of $\downarrow \rightarrow$. The latter is confirmed *inter alia* by the absence of binding holes in the margin of f,

which should show them if it were an inside margin. Frame 7 again probably comprises two pages, with a $\downarrow \rightarrow$ order (see binding hole in 7a). Since none of the fragments in Frame 8 has been placed, neither page order nor numbers of pages represented can be determined (but see *Notes* on 8). When we allow for the fact that a number of 'intrusive' fragments in the various frames belong together, we arrive at an estimate of at least 22 pages for our document. Needless to say, this estimate is deliberately conservative and is based solely on extant materials. As we will see below, the original text of *Jannes and Jambres* is likely to have been somewhat longer. The sequence of the extant material is likely: 1ab $\rightarrow\downarrow$, 1cd3h4c $\rightarrow\downarrow$; 1ef $\rightarrow\downarrow$; 2a $\rightarrow\downarrow$; 3abc $\rightarrow\downarrow$; 4abe $\rightarrow\downarrow$; 2h3g $\downarrow\rightarrow$?; 5a + $\downarrow\rightarrow$; 5d + $\downarrow\rightarrow$; 6 $\downarrow\rightarrow$; 7 $\downarrow\rightarrow$.

There is reason to believe that the extant pages belong to a single quire or gathering of papyrus sheets, which had the somewhat unusual page order of $\rightarrow\downarrow$ till the centre and $\downarrow\rightarrow$ thereafter. The alternative is that we have the second half of one quire and the first half of a second. This would suggest, however, that both at the beginning and at the end of our document extensive materials have been lost. Since we know this to be incorrect for the beginning, we would then have to posit further that our document began in the second half of a quire rather than on its first page, and a similar line of argument would have to be adopted for the end of the document. All in all, such a hypothesis would create more problems than it would solve. Since we seemingly have at least six folios or leaves with a $\rightarrow\downarrow$ order and at least four with $\downarrow\rightarrow$, the original document may have been constructed of 6 bifolios (sheets) = 12 folios (leaves) = 24 pages with a $\rightarrow\downarrow/\downarrow\rightarrow$ order. This means, if our various estimates are correct, that, at the end, at least 1 folio = 2 pages of the document has (have) been lost. Alternatively, if an order of $\rightarrow\downarrow$ is to be assigned to 2h3g (as we have in fact reluctantly done on the basis of contents), we would have to conclude that a minimum of six pages has perished at the conclusion of the document, though not all need to have been inscribed, of course. It seems unlikely in terms of the plot of the book, however, that such a sizable portion has been lost. Moreover, there is at least one additional factor which poses problems to a 6 bifolio quire: 2a $\downarrow$ and 3a $\rightarrow$ do not offer a continuous narrative, nor can re-ordering seemingly solve the problem. This means that the original document contained at least one more $\rightarrow\downarrow$ folio than can now be identified, with a matching $\downarrow\rightarrow$ leaf in the second half of the quire. Consequently, we are forced to conclude that our document

counted a minimum of 24 pages no matter what the correct order of 2h3g is.

That the page order of our document was $\rightarrow \downarrow / \downarrow \rightarrow$ seems nonetheless certain. Other examples of this somewhat unconventional formation include Nag Hammadi Codex II roll 4, Codex XIII, the eight outermost sheets of the Crosby Codex, P. Ryl. 28, Paris BN Suppl. gr. 1120, P. Bodmer Composite, BM Coptic Ms. Or. 7594. All of these are dated to iv AD, with the exception of Paris BN, which is assigned to iii. (Cf. Turner *Typology*. p. 58ff.)

Whether our quire ever formed part of a codex must remain uncertain, at least for the present. If the extant binding holes are original, we can conclude that the the pages of our book were secured to each other, but nothing more.

We noted earlier that not all pages of our document had the same number of lines or number of letters to a line. As the scribe approached the conclusion of the story—in fact soon after the mid point of the quire—, he began cramming his pages, perhaps in an attempt to make do with the number of pages he had allotted for his text. If accepted, this lends some support to our theory of a single quire. When one computes the number of letters per 5 cm, 7a $\downarrow$ gives the highest count with an average of 16.4 (based on 5 lines) and 2a $\rightarrow$ the lowest, averaging 10.8 per 5 cm (based on 8 lines of text). Consequently, the number of letters per line, which is in the neighbourhood of 28-32 on 1d, 2a and 3a, increases to approximately 40 on 7a. Similarly, the number of lines to a page, which is 21 on 4abe $\rightarrow$ and was probably only 20 on 1cd3h4c $\downarrow$, increases substantially on later pages of our papyrus. For example, not only is it evident at a glance that the lines on 7a are written much more closely together, but when one aligns the binding hole in 7a with the hole in 3a, it becomes quite clear that the column of writing on the former commenced at least one line higher. As a result of both these factors the page to which 7a belongs must have counted at least 30 lines of text. Additional instances of this kind are discussed in the *Notes*.

Yet another feature of the column of writing deserves to be mentioned. On pages such as 3abc $\rightarrow \downarrow$, which evidently belong fairly early on in the extant document, the scribe began and ended his line of text approximately at the same point on both sides of the folio. Pages 1cd3h4c $\rightarrow \downarrow$ give the same evidence. Later pages, on the other hand, show considerable overrun, with the result that the ends of lines on left-hand pages (written therefore toward the central fold)

would have become difficult to read in view of the binding that was used. However, that the scribe *progressively* increased his overrun in an effort to cram as much text as possible onto his page is not a fully justified conclusion, since 7a + → shows very little. Possibly by then he realized he need not cram as much as he had. At times, however, the overrun was occasioned by a shift to the right of the entire column of text.

A kollesis or seam in the papyrus, where sheets to be joined (called kollemata) were pasted together at the time the papyrus roll was manufactured, can be detected in 7→. Fragment 7b should in fact be partially placed over 7a, so that lines 1-5 on the former become aligned with lines 4-8 on the latter. Together with 7h-j these fragments evidently show us a seam with an overlap of approximately 3 cm. A couple of additional fragments (d and e) in this frame, which show writing on the → side only, no doubt form part of the overlap but cannot be precisely placed with any degree of confidence. Not unexpectedly, the left sheet overlaps the right, with the result that the scribe's stylus moving predominantly from left to right would encounter a minimum of obstruction. If what we have suggested about quire formation is correct, namely, that the sheets were placed with the horizontal fibres facing downward, they were seemingly turned over after having been cut, if the horizontal fibres may be presumed to have been on the inside of the roll. That the stack of sheets was rotated 90°, as was done in the case of Nag Hammadi Codex XIII, is precluded by the vertical kollesis. No seams have been found in other fragments of this document.

To the question of whether binding preceded or followed inscription our fragmentary remains of papyrus give no answer. (For a clear example of the former procedure see P. Chester Beatty XIII [A. Pietersma, *Two Manuscripts* p. 1].) Nor has either pagination or quire numeration survived, if indeed the manuscript ever featured them.

In conclusion, we recall here the two less-than-standard features used in our papyrus, namely, the stabbed-stitched type of binding and the reverse way in which the quire was formed. As we will see in I.9, to this may be added its unconventional contraction of the nomina sacra. Together these three characteristics suggest that Papyrus Chester Beatty XVI was perhaps produced not in a literary centre such as Alexandria but somewhere in Egypt's hinterland. Since the Macarius tradition is clearly acquainted with *Jannes and*

Jambres (cf I.3.38-39), it is not impossible that the copy we possess in the Chester Beatty papyrus, like Macarius himself, hails from the western desert and was produced by a monastic community, which had limited contact with the outside world.

CHAPTER NINE
ORTHOGRAPHY, LANGUAGE AND DATE OF
P. CHESTER BEATTY XVI

Not unexpectedly, the peculiarities and idiosyncrasies of the scribe who produced our document were not confined to matters of book making and binding, which we discussed in the preceding section. Here we begin with items he shared with his fellow scribes of the Graeco-Roman period. A useful collection of much of the relevant material may be found in F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* vols. 1-2, and more particularly for the Septuagint in H. St. John Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*. (See further individual volumes of the Göttingen Septuaginta.)

In the area of orthography and morpho-phonology, the scribe of our manuscript, like his scribal confreres, not infrequently deviated from text-book spelling and thus reflects in numerous ways the linguistic development of Greek in the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman periods:

Interchange of vowels/diphthongs:

ι for ει: οικι 1d→ 2; ελθιν 1d→ 10; παραγγιλac 1d→ 17; παρηγγιλεν 1d↓ 15; περιτιχιν, παραδικον 1d↓ 17; ερκι 1f→ 3; σημια 1f→ 6; απολιπεται 1f↓ 5; φυτιαν 2a→ 6; κυμος 2a→ 10; δυναμικ 2a→ 15; απαγιν 2a↓ 8; σημιον 2d↓ 2, 2f↓ 2; πρεcβικ 3a→ 6; κακινοι 3a→ 12; πεμπι 3a→ 15; λυπιν 3a↓ 1; μαδικθικ 4a→ 2; γινωσκιν 4a→ 12; προσεχιν 4a→ 14; καθαρικθικ 4b↓ 4; αποκρικθικ 5a↓ 2; προρηρικ 5c↓ 6; ονδικακιν 5f↓ 11; ουδικ 5b→ 1, 7a↓ 7; χιλη, κινιται 5b→ 5; μνημιον 5f→ 4; βακιλικ 5e↓ 3; απεκτιν- 5e→ 3; δι 6a↓ 5; απωλιαν 7a↓ 4; δανικαμενος 7b↓ 2; δανικτην 7c↓ 7; υπερεχι 7j↓ 2; αντικταθικ 7j↓ 5; χιρων 7a→ 6; αμαρτανι 7a→ 7; αποδωικ 7b→ 9; κιται 7j→ 3.

ει for ι: ειασιν 1f→ 4; ειδε 3a↓ 15; ειcot- 7i↓ 2, 7j↓ 3.

η for ει: -ορηκης 7b↓ 4; εφιορκηκης 7b↓ 6.

ι for υ: απολλιται 2h↓ 1; ci 5b→ 4; νιν 6f↓ 6.

ε for αι: εγυπτων 1d↓ 14; τεχνιτες 1d↓ 16; γυνεκoc 1f↓ 7; επιδωξε 3g→ 3; εγυπτον 3g→ 6; εγυπτω 6e↓ 3; καταβενομεν 6f↓ 5; κεομενα 6f→ 7; χαμε- 7c→ 6.

αι for ε: εχαι 4a↓ 1.

η for αι: ηματι 3a↓ 2; εληας 5e↓ 5.
η for ε: cχηδον 4a→ 16.
ε for η: καταβεναι* 6b↓ 12.
ου for ευ: βασιλευς 3g→ 2, 7a↓ 6.
ω for ο: εgyptων 1d↓ 14; ειδων 2a→ 5; χιρων 7a→ 6.
ο for ω: ιδον 2a→ 13.

Interchange of consonants:

κ for χ: ουκ 1a↓ 4, 5b→ 6, 6b→ 5.
τ for θ: αποστητι 5f↓ 5.

Non-assimilation:

συνγραφος 1a→ 4; συνκαλεσας 2a→ 2; επιπλανητικαμενοι 2a↓ 10.

In the majority of cases, so-called deviant spellings in the manuscript went unchanged, but at times, through various methods practised within the scribal craft, our scribe brought about alterations in his text, not only to spellings he thought the better of but in fact far more often to genuine mistakes he inadvertently introduced. (We can see no evidence that any of these were made by a second hand.) Thus we find the following:

1. Supra-linear corrections: απτονται 1a↓ 4; υεκρυομαν- 5a→ 2; εποη- 5f→ 8; εις 6e→ 3; ουχ 7c→ 6.
2. Correction by overwriting: λων 1a→ 3; (α)νθρωπ(ος) over (α)γγελ(ος) 1d↓ 8; ψοφον 2h→ 1; (το)υς(ε) to (το)τε(ε) 5f→ 18; καταβεναι to καταβηναι 6b↓ 12; υοι 6e↓ 2; τους 6a→ 3; ουκ 7k↓ 1; χιρω 7a→ 6; αποδως 7b→ 9.
3. Correction by canceling stroke: μ 3g→ 10; μ 6d→ 2; ουδιος 7a↓ 7; υ 5a↓ 3.
4. Correction by insertion: υδ to ουδ 6a→ 6.
5. Supra-linear plus canceling stroke: (ια)μβρ(ου) to (ια)νν(ου) 3g↓ 4; see 4d↓ 3 σε from σοι.
6. Overwriting plus canceling stroke: αυτου to cou 3g↓ 3.
7. Supra-linear plus overwriting: μηλεας 5f→ 8.

Diacritics are met with throughout the document, but in most cases their use is, not unexpectedly, sporadic. The trema is used with some frequency and consistency on initial ι, and medial ι under set conditions, as well as on initial υ. Thus it appears, consistently as it seems, on the initial letter of the magicians' names: 1a→ 1; 1d→ 6, 13; 1d↓ 14; 1f↓ 6; 2a→ 14; 3i→ 1; 4a→ 3; 3g→ 9; 2h↓ 3; 3g↓ 4; 5b↓ 1, 4; 5f→ 7, 11. Further we find it on ιδια 1d→ 17, ιδιου 1f↓ 8, ιερ- 5f↓ 5, and medially on υιω 1d→ 6; υιος 5b↓ 4 and υιοι

6e↓ 2. With initial υ our scribe wrote it on ὑπο 2a→ 9; ὕμας 4a→ 1; ὑστερον 7b→ 8. An apostrophe to separate double γ is also reasonably well represented: παραγ'γίλας 1d→ 17; αγ'γελος 1d↓ 8*, 9; παρηγ'γίλεν 1d↓ 15; ηγ'γ- 1f→ 2; ηγ'γίκεν 6b↓ 10. Less often the medial/high stop is used: πριονα· 1d↓ 9; αἰωνα· 2a↓ 10. We have encountered the *spiritus asper* and *lenis* but once each: ὕπο 6f→ 7, ὄυ 7b↓ 4.

That our scribe had at least some sensitivity for a straight right-hand margin is shown by elongated letters on a couple of fragments: 1f→ and 6f↓. Similarly, we find the occasional enlarged letter in line-initial position, most notably ο (= δ) in 2a→ 14, α (= ἀδελφος) in 2h↓ 3 and ο (= ουδενων) in 6f→ 8. One can at best speak here of a scribal tendency, which, however, does not necessarily make enlargement coincide with the beginning of a sense unit, as the first two instances clearly show.

Our text offers a number of items which are of broader lexical and stylistic interest, most of which are, however, attributable to the author of our book rather than to the scribe of Papyrus Chester Beatty XVI. Needless to say, not all the evidence here points to influence from a single quarter. Thus, for example, on one, perhaps two, occasions the author introduces what must be labeled Homeric language. The word εἶλαρ (2a→ 7 and 13) is, as far as our present evidence goes, restricted to the Homeric corpus, and the expression ἐνταῦθα ἦσο (5a + → 2) seems to reflect a very similar phrase in Homer. Even more rare, though not Homeric, are such formations as περιτειχέω (in place of περιτειχίζω) (1c + ↓ 17) and συγγράφος (for συγγραφεύς), as well as a hybrid like νεκρομαντεία (see νεκυμαντεία and νεκρομαντεία) (5a + → 20). The writer's generous use of δέ and τε, though characteristic of Greek usage generally, does not reflect predominant Septuagintal practice. Also not indicative of Septuagint usage is ἀπολείπομαι + genitive rather than prepositional phrase, as well as γινώσκω (4a + → 12; 7d→ 3) for γινώσκω. The former ceased being written after circa 300 BC, according to Thackeray *Grammar* p. 114. Along the same lines, οὐθέν (3a + ↓ 16) is of interest, because of its Hellenistic versus Graeco-Roman flavour (see Thackeray p. 58ff.). However, οὐδεῖς in 5a + → 1 and 7a + ↓ 7 bears comparison. On the other hand, the author's use of the genitive absolute construction in lieu of the circumstantial participle can be paralleled from the Septuagint and documentary materials, but can scarcely be regarded as generally employed

literary style. Also of interest here is ἄνδρες ἄδελφοί (3a + → 3), which is virtually (though not quite) limited to the New Testament and literature dependent thereon. (Further items of the kind here noted will be found in the *Notes*.)

Possibly attributable to the scribe of our papyrus, in distinction from the author of the book, are the fully written out numerals our text features, in distinction from common practice in biblical papyri. No exceptions are extant.

In similar vein, one of the most interesting orthographic characteristics of the Chester Beatty papyrus is the unusual system of contractions it employs for the so-called *nomina sacra*. The papyrus furnishes evidence for θεός , κύριος and ἄνθρωπος : $\overline{\theta\omicron\varsigma}$ 7a↓ 6; $\overline{\theta\omicron}[\bar{\upsilon}$ 7m→ 3; $\overline{\theta\omicron\upsilon}$ 3a→ 16; $\overline{\kappa\omicron\varsigma}$ 2a↓ 7; $\overline{\alpha}[\nu\theta\pi\omega]$ 4c→ 3; $\overline{\alpha\nu}[\theta\pi\omicron\iota]$ 4j↓ 2, $\overline{\alpha\nu}[\theta\pi]$ 5d↓ 6, $\overline{\alpha\nu\theta\pi\omega}$ 5h↓ 7, $\overline{\alpha\nu\theta\pi\omega}$ 5d→ 1.

The trilateral $\overline{\theta\omicron\varsigma}$ and $\overline{\kappa\omicron\varsigma}$ type has thus far been found only as aberrant forms in documents which otherwise employ the standard biliteral contractions of initial plus final letter ($\overline{\theta\varsigma}$, $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ etc.). Over thirty years ago Paap in *Nomina Sacra* (1959) was able to cite only one occurrence each of $\overline{\kappa\omicron\upsilon}$ and $\overline{\theta\omicron\varsigma}$. Aland (*Repertorium* p. 424, but cf. p. 303) has since attributed $\overline{\kappa\omicron\upsilon}$ to P⁷² (= P. Bodmer VII-VIII) but we can find no evidence of this in the text edited by Testuz. If correct it would in any case be a lone aberration from the system used in this papyrus. Similarly, both examples of such a trilateral contraction noted in Paap were questioned by the editors of the respective papyri. $\overline{\kappa\omicron\upsilon}$ occurs once in P. Cod. Herm. (= P. Mich. 129) but C. Bonner (*A Papyrus Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas*) notes *ad loc.* (p. 83 note 10) that the omicron is not completely formed and consequently may indicate either that the scribe arrested his mistake part way through writing this letter or incompletely erased the intruding omicron. P. Cod. Herm. is dated to iii AD and its provenance is given as Theadelphia. $\text{θ\omicron\varsigma}$ (without any trace of overlining according to the editor) appears in H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt* (no. 1925 [inv. 2493]). The document is part of the Paphnutius correspondence and dated to the middle of iv AD, but no provenance is given. Like Bonner, Bell expresses his doubts about the authenticity of the lone trilateral contraction given by the papyrus in contradistinction to the standard forms one finds elsewhere in this document.

That the trilateral contractions in P. Cod. Herm. and Bell no. 1925 may not be scribal slips pure and simple, as suggested by the

editors, but may reflect, instead, an acquaintance with such contractions (cf. Paap p. 100 note 4) is now shown by P. Chester Beatty XVI. None of the instances under discussion in this papyrus is in doubt and all are in fact commensurate with the scribe's equally unusual contraction of ἄνθρωπος. Complete consistency was, however, not achieved, since 1d↓ 9 reads θεο[υ] and the preceding line has ἄνθρωπος written out in full (though as a scribal correction), as may 4i→ 1 (with overlining), though an incorrect insertion of ρ is more likely (cf. further 2a↓ 2 Reconstructed Text). But before turning to ἄνθρωπος, we mention here two other documents which contain trilateral contractions of θεός and κύριος. Paap no. 75 (= P. Rain. II. 59, P. 2166), dated to iii AD with no provenance given, on three occasions reads κ̄ρ̄ς and once κ̄ρ̄υ. No other type of contraction is used for κύριος. Paap no. 79, a lead roll from Rhodes and dated to c. iii AD, once reads θ̄ε̄ς, though on two other occasions it has the usual biliteral contraction, in addition to one biliteral occurrence for κύριος.

The normal contraction of ἄνθρωπος in P. Chester Beatty XVI can only be paralleled from the *Acta Pauli* (P. Hamb. Bil. 1). In our papyrus the forms in question are comprised of ανθπ plus the case inflection, though the latter is not always preserved. As we noted, our scribe was not entirely consistent. Though it is unlikely that his inconsistency is attributable to sacral versus profane meanings of the word, a distinction between individual and generic is possible (see further *Notes* on 5d + ↓). In the *Acta Pauli* the scribe was also inconsistent: ανπω̄ν 1, 9; ανθν 2, 27, = gen pl; ανου 5, 12; ανθπω 5, 30; ανθπν 7, 37, = acc sg; π̄ε 9, 1. Only the forms with -θπ- are of relevance for the Chester Beatty papyrus. From the more recently published portions of this papyrus (Diebner and Kasser, *Hamburger Papyrus Bil. 1*, 1989) we can now add ανθπoc (38, 29 = GkEccl. 8:17). The non-standard ανθπoc forms of ἄνθρωπος, normally contracted to ανoc but also frequently ανπoc in GkEccl, in the Hamburg papyrus are the more interesting since, as Paap already commented,

. . . in this papyrus almost all other nomina sacra are contracted in the usual manner. We may assume that in regard to this particular word the scribe happened to be unfamiliar with the actual form of contraction (p. 105).

The correctness of Paap's assumption is now supported by the mixture of contractions we find later in the same manuscript. Put

another way, it might be suggested, as we did in the case of the trilateral contractions of θεός and κύριος, that the use of the ανθροc type betrays familiarity with the system employed in P. Chester Beatty XVI. This conclusion becomes virtually inescapable, if the Acts of Paul and the Greek Ecclesiastes were indeed written by different scribes, as Diebner and Kasser hold.

Additional but negative evidence on contraction of the nomina sacra in our papyrus is supplied by fully written πνεῦμα in 5f→ 2. That its use there is evidently profane rather than sacral is of limited significance, since such a distinction is not always adhered to in manuscripts.

Conclusions to be drawn from the contractions of the nomina sacra in P. Chester Beatty XVI regarding date and provenance of our papyrus are very limited. Though both P. Cod. Herm. and P. Hamb. Bil. 1 are said to have come from the area of the Fayum (which, in the case of the latter papyrus, is clear from the Fayumic dialect of its Coptic sections), it would be rash to conclude on that basis that P. Chester Beatty XVI likewise hails from that region. The evidence is both too little and too indecisive—though interesting nonetheless. Regarding the question of date we are perhaps on somewhat firmer ground. P. Cod. Herm. has been dated to iii AD, P. Hamb. Bil. 1 circa AD 300 (or iii AD according to Kasser) and Bell no. 1925 circa AD 350. (Paap nos. 75 and 79 have both been dated to iii AD.) If these dates—all of which are assigned—have general validity, the non-standard contractions such as we find in P. Chester Beatty XVI had some currency in iii AD and slightly beyond. Moreover, one might indeed expect *a priori* that non-standard forms would be either reasonably early (before a universally known standard had evolved) or might be employed in a cultural backwater. That general considerations of this kind should not, however, be given undue weight is illustrated by P. Berlin 1163 which uses ανθροc (2x) as well as some other unconventional contractions, though it is dated to v/vi AD (see K. Treu APF 21 no. 2). Similarly, κρc can clearly be read in P. Rainer Cent. 31.4 (Plate 55 line 10) as Treu has noted in “Christliche Papyri XI” (no. 1007). This document dates from vii AD. Nevertheless, the important point to be made is that, while in other manuscripts (with the possible exception of Paap no. 75, and especially Hamb. Bil. 1 on ανθρωπος) the aberrant forms, particularly in the case of θεός and κύριος, are nothing more than occasional lapses on the part of the scribe, in our

papyrus, on the other hand, we find a *system* of contractions which must clearly be labeled non-standard by iii/iv AD. As we have suggested, together with the two other non-standard characteristics of our papyrus, the unconventional contractions of the nomina sacra may possibly mean that P. Chester Beatty XVI was produced in Egypt's hinterland. Implied in this interpretation, however, is that its Vorlage either had the same system of contractions or that it had the nomina sacra written out in full. For the latter assumption the Vienna papyrus (see III) may furnish some evidence.

Touching the question of date, E. G. Turner (*Greek Manuscripts*² p. 13³) notes that the apostrophe between double nasals is not usually written in documents until iii AD. We have seen above that our papyrus furnishes several examples of this phenomenon. Therefore, the combined evidence, such as it is, of the nomina sacra and the apostrophe with double nasals points us tentatively to a date no earlier than iii/iv AD as appropriate for P. Chester Beatty XVI. We may now turn to the question of palaeography.

An early iv AD date was assigned to our papyrus by Turner some years ago in private correspondence (dated October 12, 1973), though no specific dated or undated parallels were offered. But since Turner's judgement was perforce based on poor photographs which gave inadequate indication of the size of the script, it was deemed advisable to re-submit the papyrus to expert scrutiny. Accordingly, an assessment was solicited from P. J. Parsons of the University of Oxford.

Papyrus Chester Beatty XVI has been written with black ink in roughly bilinear fashion, with many letters protruding regularly above or below the notional upper and base lines, or extending beyond both at the same time. Thus β extends normally above the line, joined by ι in certain contexts, while ζ μ ξ ρ χ and frequently ι, notably when it extends from the cross-bar of ε or from the tail of α, reach below it. Some letters characteristically extend beyond the notional lines in both directions: κ λ φ ψ and, again, frequently ι.

Though some letters in our script have retained their capital shape, most of these, nonetheless, were formed cursively, only η and π—though the latter is sometimes produced in a single movement—consisting of more than two movements, and many comprising a single one. Furthermore, strings of several letters, written in an uninterrupted, continuous movement of the pen, are characteristic of the hand in which our papyrus was written. Not infrequently,

because of its cursive manner, individual letters within strings gain an appearance rather different from their free(r) standing allographs. This is true, for example, of α, formed in a single, looped movement but often stretched into little more than a peaked line. Similarly, ω, also formed in a single movement, at times completely loses its middle hasta, with the result that it looks more like an o which is open at the top. In our hand, however, the latter (o) seems often to have been formed as a circle drawn clockwise and begun just above the line. At times, the beginning and end of the line fail to meet properly, resulting in a circle which is open near the bottom and resembling c, which was typically begun at the same point, though not infrequently given a more or less extended horizontal top and at times an angular appearance. The o tends to be small, at times being reduced to an oversized dot. Particularly interesting is β, sometimes apparently formed in a single movement but perhaps more typically made in two. It is begun with a downward stroke mid-way between the notional lines, which then bends upward toward the right. The second movement (if made) begins roughly at the same point as the first, but ascends instead, forming a narrow or closed left loop at the top (above the line), and then descends toward the right, crossing itself and ending in a left-pointing flourish at the base line or slightly below it. Often the left loop at the top degenerates into a retraced vertical line. However many movements are made in its formation, the result is a β with little or no upper curve and often a poor excuse for a lower one. For η the cross-bar tends to be high, but the same cannot be said of ε, which ligatures regularly, is formed in two movements but appears in a variety of shapes, especially as a left-hand arc with cross-bar attached at the centre, which then ligatures with what follows. We also find it often in a more cursive shape with top half and cross-bar formed in a single movement. Not infrequently the cursive allographs of ε protrude above the upper notional line. The letter υ, though formed in a single movement, appears in a trim and shallow capital form at times looped at the base, but also often in a deep vee shape which may degenerate into little more than a check mark. Many letters have finals, notably ι κ λ π ρ φ χ.

Among the specimens included in Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*², no. 43, a Menander papyrus with an assigned date of iv AD, is most like our manuscript in size of script and semi-cursive appearance. Our hand, however, is decidedly more cursive than that of no. 43. As a

case in point, one may note that whereas *v* in the Menander papyrus is written in three movements, in our script it consists typically of two. The hand of no. 43 also has a tendency to slope to the right, as Turner notes, which can scarcely be said of the Beatty script. Some general similarity may further be noted with such hands as those represented by Cavallo and Maehler (*Greek Bookhands*) 4a (= P. Oxy. 3266), 4b (= P. Mich. 137), 5a (= P. Vindob. Sijpensteijn 1) and 5b (= P. Bodmer IV), the first and third of which carry a date of AD 337 and 338 respectively, and the remaining two have been assigned to the first half of iv AD. In initial impression, no manuscript of our acquaintance shows as much similarity to P. Chester Beatty XVI as P. Ryl. III 469, as S. R. Pickering has correctly pointed out in private correspondence (dated 9/3/90). This is not to say, however, that no marked differences show themselves, when one examines individual letter forms. Most notable of these are the formation of *v* and *υ*. C. H. Roberts, its editor (who labeled it "Epistle against the Manichees") wrote of it that "... the hand, though regular and of an official type, is certainly no book-hand. . . ." The assigned date he gives is late iii AD, but it seems doubtful, when all is considered, that our text can be as old.

In P. J. Parsons' judgement,

The script, clearly, is a semi-cursive with the features of what in the 3rd century is conventionally called 'Chancery Style' This style is first attested at the beginning of the 3rd century; in the 4th its peculiar features spread and become typical of the Byzantine cursive in general, as we see it in the 5th. (Letter dated July 15, 1991.)

The question is, as Parsons observes, to which stage of this development P. Chester Beatty should be assigned. According to him, R. A. Coles, H. Maehler and J. R. Rea (to whom he showed our text), concur with his own opinion that it should be assigned to iv AD rather than iii AD. In fact, Coles and Rea are said to favour "4th going on 5th," but Parsons himself is prepared to keep it within iv, even though some isolated letter forms or ligatures might give the impression of v AD. As an example he points to instances of *ε* "with wide rounded base and short upper stroke," at times ligatured with *ι*. In summary Parsons writes,

We don't see any possibility of dating this script by comparison with any narrow range of examples, because it's too carelessly written. So all we can really offer is an impression: 4th century! (*Ibid.*)

Stuart Pickering likewise inclines toward late rather than early iv AD. He writes,

... while one can point to similarities among third century hands, this is to be attributed to evolution of style. One can also point to stylistic similarities in hands of the fifth century. (Letter dated September 9, 1992.)

By way of comparison he refers to P. Rainer Cent. 36 (iv/v AD).

Consequently, in the light of the re-examination of our papyrus by a coterie of palaeographers, Turner's date of early iv AD is best revised downward by some fifty to seventy-five years.

That the book on Jannes and Jambres was originally composed in a Semitic language, as Koch alleged (ZNW 57 [1966]), finds in our judgement no support in the Greek remnants of the book now at our disposal. Moreover, we regard the burden of proof to lie properly with those who would wish to argue that the language of our earliest manuscripts is not the language of composition.

II

PAPYRUS CHESTER BEATTY XVI

TRANSCRIPTION AND RECONSTRUCTION

The texts of Papyrus Chester Beatty XVI and Papyrus Vindobonensis G 29456 + 29828verso (see III) will be given on facing pages in two forms. For the Transcribed Text on the left-hand page we have made every reasonable effort to reproduce the text as it appears on the papyrus itself, that is to say, in *scriptio continua* and without reconstructions of any kind. Lectional signs and scribal corrections of various sorts have been reproduced from the original. In the latter case, however, all corrections, regardless of method employed by the scribe, appear raised above the line. For more detail the reader is asked to consult either the Reproductions or I.9 above. Since care has been taken in placing letters in the correct relationship to each other, both vertically and horizontally, the physical shape of individual fragments of papyrus ought to be relatively clear from the Transcribed Text. Margins are represented by horizontal and vertical lines above, beneath or on either side of the written text. Lines on individual fragments have been numbered to serve as a basic system of reference. In the Introduction, reference has been made to this numbering rather than to the numbering of the Reconstructed Text, though in many instances the two coincide. If, in more conventional manner, all less-than-certain letters had been excluded from the Transcribed Text, many of the smaller pieces when not placed would not have been represented in either the Transcribed or the Reconstructed version. To prevent this, uncertain letters have been added to the former but have been marked with sub-literal dot. Since the script of P. Chester Beatty XVI approximates a cursive script more nearly than one of free-standing capitals, we have reproduced our text here in lower rather than upper case. For obvious reasons, however, the lunate sigma has been used throughout. Since a glance at the right-hand page will readily tell the reader how the text is being read, a philological apparatus appears appropriately only with the Reconstructed Text. The *Notes* are designed to treat of items that merit further discussion.

The right-hand page will furnish a reconstructed edition of our papyrus, that is to say, we have introduced word division, capitalization where appropriate, standard diacritics and punctuation as

well as the usual brackets employed by editors of Greek papyri. Since what has actually been preserved on our fragments is clear not only from the square brackets in which missing text has been enclosed but also from the diplomatic transcription on the left-hand page, we have felt free to fill in lacunae rather more than might otherwise be justified. Such reconstructions are intended to be, in the first instance, reading-aids rather than retrieved text. We are well aware that not all such reconstructions will be found acceptable by all readers. As is especially true for new books with but a single known exemplar, the more the text is read and digested by scholars the greater the clarity and comprehension that will emerge. Uncertain letters are indicated, as in the Transcribed Text, in the usual manner, namely, by sub-literal dots. Within square brackets, dots represent the number of letters estimated to have been lost ([.]). In the *Notes* line reference is normally to the Reconstructed Text, unless, of course, a given fragment has been included only in the Transcribed Text.

Within the covers of the present volume, the facsimiles of all three texts, P. Chester Beatty XVI, P. Vindob. G 29456 + 29828verso and Brit. Lib. Cot Tib. 87, must function as the final authority on what a given manuscript reads or does not read, though the editor has made every effort in ascertaining what the originals read, suggest or permit.

TRANSCRIBED TEXT

Frame 1 → a, b

	a	b
1	βιβλ λογωνϊαγ	καιιαμβ
2	ενμεμφιεπιβασιλεω	φαραω
3	λ ^ω ννεανιευειδης	χων
4	ωγσυγγραφουβασι	εωσφα

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

Frame 1ab→

top of page,

αὕτη ἡ βιβλ[ος] λόγων Ἰάν[νου] καὶ Ἰάμβ[ρου]
 τῶν μάγων] ἐν Μέμφι ἐπὶ βασιλέω[ς] Φαραὼ [ἦν ἔ-
 γραψεν . . .] λων, νεανὶς εὐειδῆς [ἔ]χων [. . . .
] ὧν συγγραφοῦ τοῦ βασι[λ]έως Φα[ραώ]
 c. 17 lines lost

3 rd νεανίας?

4 rd συγγραφοῦ

This is the book of the words of Jannes and Jambres
 the magicians, in Memphis during the reign of King Pharaoh
 which . . . wrote, a handsome young man endowed with
 . . . , being a writer (historian) of King Pharaoh . . .

Notes:

1 αὕτη ἡ βιβλος. In biblical literature this phrase occurs only in Gen 2:4, 5:1, 1Bar 4:1; never, therefore, at the beginning of a book. Spacing, however, suggests some such wording. Moreover, it is possible that the initial letter was enlarged and/or indented. For another case of enlargement see 2a→ 14. βιβλος λόγων. This collocation of terms is found in Tob 1:1 and Lk 3:4, but is reminiscent of βιβλίον λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν of 3 and 4 Reigns (cf. e.g. 3Rgns 15:7, 23, 31 *et passim*. and 1Par 27:24, 2Par 36:8). βιβλίον λόγων ἐντολῶν κυρίου of 2Esdr 7:11 is clearly more remote in sense. Though the phrase in question is a Semitism, reflecting Hebrew ספר דברי, its appearance in the Greek biblical corpus provides sufficient explanation for its use in our book. It may be that the title of the book was The Book of the Words of Jannes and Jambres, but this need not be inferred from our initial line of text. The title proper would likely have been given on the concluding page of our document, though initial-titles are also well known. Note for example P. Bodmer XV (John) for an initial title, and P. Bodmer V (*Nativity of Mary*) for the title at both beginning and end. Also of interest is that the book's fictive author is named. 2 ἐν Μέμφι. Even though some indi-

vidual scenes in the ensuing drama are set on the private estate of Jannes and Jambres, to which we will be introduced shortly, the author evidently intends Memphis to function as the grand stage. The biblical exodus account makes no mention of Memphis as being the scene of the action, but both Philo (*Life of Moses* 1, 118) and Artapanus (Frag 3) state so explicitly. Since any author with even a modicum of historical sense might be expected to choose this ancient royal city, the use of the city's name is not relevant for the question of authorship of our book.

Φαραώ. This ancient title here and in line 4 is construed as a personal name. Elsewhere it is extant only on 7k→ (Trans. Text), where, however, the order is Φαρ. βασιλ.

3 λων. In place of omega the scribe began to write μ but corrected it to the former. Perhaps this accounts for the uncharacteristically formed λ which precedes. Elsewhere before ω, the back of λ does not connect with following ω but instead extends well below the line.

νεανίς. The text should read either νεανίας or νεανίσκος, and in that case συγγραφέας in the next line is best read as a variant of συγγραφεύς (cf. Coptic **ϣⲏⲕⲣⲁⲫⲟⲥ**, though thematization of athematic nouns is also well-known in Hellenistic Greek Koine). The two lines, then, will have told the reader who it was that wrote our book. We have accordingly restored ἦν ἔγραψεν followed by a personal name of at most two syllables in the lacuna spanning lines 2 and 3. If the initial letters in line 3 are λων, as we have suggested, a name such as Φίλων would be suitable. CPJ lists it three times as a name borne by a Jew in Egypt. We may further note Philo Judaeus, Philo Epicus and Philo the Elder. (For additional occurrences, especially among the Jews of Cyrenaica, see now Horbury and Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt* [1992].) The intent of our author was, quite clearly, to present *Jannes and Jambres* as a work of history written by an eye-witness in the service of Pharaoh, as a kind of court historian, even though it is not the king's reign he is documenting.

εὐειδής. One is reminded here of DanLXX 1:4 where King Nebuchadnezzar selects from the Judean captives young men who are to be ἄμωμοι, εὐειδεῖς, ἐπιστήμονες ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ and are to be in possession of various other attributes as well. Within the biblical corpus εὐειδής appears only in DanLXX 1:4. It may further be no coincidence that Nebuchadnezzar's young recruits are to be γραμματικοί. A συγγραφέας at court would certainly be endowed with literary skills. If our reading of this passage is correct, it is well-nigh certain that

ἐχών in line 3 was followed by other qualities the fictive writer was thought to have possessed, e.g. φρόνησιν, σύνεσιν or σοφίαν. Perhaps better than these three would be ἐπιστήμην followed simply by καὶ ὦν. There can be little doubt that the author was pictured as a Jew, someone like Joseph, Daniel and Aristes (see also Achikar in the Tobit story), who had achieved a high position at a gentile court. His youth would underscore his achievement; his good looks was a matter of course in the eyes of his creator (cf. e.g. the beauty of Joseph and his brothers in JosAsen). The remainder of page 1 of our book will likely have featured the genealogy of Jannes and Jambres given in the Michigan papyrus, which, unfortunately, remains unpublished. The eleven partial lines of this text (which would equal circa ten in the Beatty papyrus) tell us, *inter alia*, that their grand-father, apparently Petephres by name (cf. Gen 41:45 and JosAsen 1), was a priest and connected with the cult of the god Apis (and Sarapis?; see further 1ef→). Though only the first four letters of the priest's name are extant, one may restore it with relative confidence. As is well-known, in the LXX this name is given for פֹּטִיפָר (Gen 37:36), Pharaoh's officer and Joseph's employer, as well as for פֹּטִי פֶרַע, the priest of the city of Heliopolis, an ancient and famous site of the Egyptian bull cult, and furthermore well-known in Jewish-Greek literature (cf. Ps-Eupolemus Frag 1, 8, Artapanus Frag 2, 3f, Ant 2, 188). As in the LXX, the two individuals are often fused (cf. TJos 18:3, Jub 34:11, 40:10 and JosAsen). For Rabbinic literature on this question see V. Aptowitzer, HUCA 1 (1924) p. 262. That, according to Gen 41:45, Petephres became Joseph's father-in-law and was, therefore, grand-father to his sons, Manasseh and Ephraim (41:50), is hardly an obstacle to our interpretation. To use but two examples, Jewish haggadah made Moses' father-in-law into a counselor of Pharaoh (cf. also JohnM, I.3.3 above) and likewise transplanted Balaam to the Egyptian court (cf. J. R. Baskin, *Pharaoh's Counsellors*). Apart from "Petephres," only one name beginning with Pete- presents itself in Jewish tradition, namely, Πετεσῆφ which, according to Chaeremon (see Apion 1, 290), was Joseph's Egyptian name.

As is clear from our survey of literary traditions on Jannes and Jambres (I.3.33), some Jewish sources have the magicians executed at Sinai as a result of their role in the golden calf idolatry (cf. Ex 32). Interestingly, Philo of Alexandria identifies this calf with the Egyptian bull god (*Posterity and Exile of Cain* 158, *Drunkenness* 95,

Flight and Finding 90). On the basis of such an identification, it becomes possible to suggest that the strand of tradition in question could ultimately derive from our book. There is in any case reason to believe that, in the book, the brothers are portrayed as functionaries of Apis.

The name of the magicians' father may have been given in the Michigan papyrus as Balaam, since the traditions often mention the latter in this capacity (I.3 *passim.*), but the text gives no direct evidence on the name as such. A masculine name, however, is assured by a pronominal reference. As we will note below, in the action of the extant part of the book, it is the mother and not the father of the magicians who plays an important role. In fact, Balaam may not even have put in an appearance in the action proper. An interesting genealogy of Balaam is given in Palhist (Vassiliev p. 250): Esau, *Raguel*, Zaras, *Job*, Salmon, Neri, Adem, Balaam. He was called Balaam because (cf. Samuel) his birth was the result of a special request to the god Bel to whose service he was dedicated and in whose service he acquired skill in the magic arts. Finally, in addition to stating who engendered whom, it is possible that the Michigan papyrus gives the length of the magicians' sway as having been twenty-odd years.

Counting what the Michigan text supplies as 10 lines in the Beatty papyrus gives us a total of 14 partially preserved lines of text. Since page 1 will have comprised approximately 21 lines (see Frame 1cd +), a third of its content is absent in its entirety.

TRANSCRIBED TEXT

Frame 1 ↓ a, b

	b	a
1	και	φονεπιβ ι
2	καιτος	ομαυτωνουκανε
3	υτων	ουβλεπεταιιλαλουντ
4	αυτων	τηγηγουκαπ ^{το} νταιικ

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

Frame 1ab↓

top of page

..]. καὶ . [...]. φον ἐπιβ[...]. [.....

.] καὶ τὸ σ[τ]όμα αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀνέ[φ]εσαν....

α]ὐτῶν οὐ βλέπεται λαλοῦντ[.....

.] αὐτῶν τῆς γῆς οὐκ ἄπτονται κ[.....

5 ...]. [

c.16 lines lost

4 rd ουχ

απτονται: απνται*

... and...

... and their mouth they did not open...

... their... not seen... speaking...

... their land they do not touch...

Notes:

Not implausibly after the genealogy of the magicians but before the action of the plot begins the author wrote a kind of preface in which he explained the aim and thrust of his tale. The tenor of what we can read may suggest this. We have assumed that at least the first two plural pronominal references are to the two brother magicians. Plausibly, Scripture would be applied to them, but what we have is not LXX (nor NT) *per se*. Such an interpretation makes the more sense, since the Michigan papyrus ends with a statement regarding their sway as magicians at Pharaoh's court, including possibly, as we have suggested, its duration. Especially the expression τῆς γῆς οὐχ ἄπτονται in line 4 attracts one's attention, since in Dan 8:5 (LXX and Theod) this is used of the he-goat (symbolizing Greek power), who came from the west across the land, without touching the ground. Though our text is too fragmentary to show any direct link with this passage, its theme of heaven-directed arrogance and presumption lends itself for application to the story of our book. From this perspective, the reference to "their mouth" in line 2 might be interpreted to mean that they uttered nothing but arrogant

words. Such talk is specifically noted in the vision of Dan 7 (cf. vv. 5, 8, 20, 25). Moreover, we will see presently that Dan 4, which has a thrust similar to Dan 7 and 8, was in fact drawn on by the author of our book.

TRANSCRIBED TEXT

Frames 1 → c, d, 3 → h, 4 → c

	1d	1c
1	ριῖα	
2	οικιεύ	cm
3	ασιλεῶ	ιν
4	ητρος	
5	νεται	
6	ωυῖωῖ	
7	ρακε	ειδενγαρ
8	νκαιτετρωβλωνμεστ	
9	ταπριονα σιδηρουνερχομεν	
10	ραελθινδεαυτονεπικυπαρι	
11	καιεπριεναυτηνκαικαταλ	
12	θαμαστριωρθωσενδεαυτην	
13	μερασοκτωηκυπαριςco	
14	επα ακουσασδεοῖαννηστουεν	
15	θυμησαςκαιτηνμητερααυτ	
16	δραμουςανπαρεκαλεσεναυτηνπο	
17	ειςταῖδιαπαραγ'γιλασαυτημηκ	
18	περ	
	3h	4c
1		μηκ
2	γαρπολ	λαδε
3	ομοια	νθπω
4	ροιοφ	θαλμ

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

Frame 1cd3h4c→

c. 2 lines lost

-]ρι̇α.[.....
]οικι εν[.....
 τοῦ β]ασιλέω[ς.....
 τῇ]ς μητρὸς [.....
 5]ιν . νετ̇αι[.....
 τ]ῷ υἱῷ Ἰ[.....
]ρακε[. .] εἶδεν γὰρ. [.
] . [. .] . ν καὶ τετρωβῶλων μεστ[ὸν καὶ
 ἔχον]τα πρίονα σιδηροῦν ἐρχόμεν[ον. . .
 10 . . λάθ]ρα· ἔλθιν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ κυπάρι[σσόν
 τινα] καὶ ἔπρισεν αὐτὴν καὶ καταλ[εῖπει
 σπι]θαμὰς τρι̇ς· ὠρθῶσεν δὲ αὐτὴν [.
 . καὶ ἡ]μέρας ὀκτῶ ἡ κυπάρισσο[ς.
 . . .]ς πα[ρ]ακούσας δὲ ὁ Ἰάννης τοῦ ἐν[υπνίου
 15 καὶ ἐπι]θυμήσας καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτ[οῦ ἀπο-
 δραμοῦσαν παρεκάλεσεν αὐτὴν πο[ρρευθῆναι
 εἰς τὰ ἴδια παραγγίλας αὐτῇ μὴ κ . [.
 περ[ι̇.] γὰρ πολλὰ δε[.
 . [.] ὅμοια [ἀ]νθ(ρώ)πῳ [.
 20]ρ οἱ ὀφθαλμ[οι̇.
 bottom of page

2 rd οικει? 8 rd τετρωβολων 10 rd ελθειν 12 rd
 τρεις 17 rd παραγγελιας

...
 ... lives...
 ... the king...
 ... the mother...
 5 ...
 ... son...
 ... for (s)he saw...
 ... and laden with tetrobola and
 holding an iron saw, coming...

- 10 secretly but that he went to a certain cypress-
 tree. "And he sawed it down but left
 three spans. But... set it upright
 and for eight days the cypress-tree...
" But Jannes, having taken no heed of the dream
 15 and also longing for his mother
 to leave, urged her to go
 home, ordering her not to...
 about... but many...
 ... similar to a human being...
 20 ... the eyes...

Notes:

Fragment c apparently belongs to lines 4-5 of d, and 3h + 4c fit side by side in lines 18-21. The fragment protruding from the foot of d has been joined incorrectly to the larger piece (see especially d↓). It needs to be moved away circa 5 mm and, consequently, 1 to 2 letters must be inserted in lines 16 and 17. The page order of cd + is guaranteed by the contents on d → and ↓. The extant left margin would fall between binding holes 5 and 6, on the assumption that the quire had a total of six, rather than two near the top and two near the bottom (see I.8). That fragments cd of Frame 1 belong to a folio different from ab on the one hand and ef on the other is at once obvious; neither pair can be accommodated with cd within the format we have established. That cd follow ab is clear from the contents.

4 μητρὸς. In the traditions about Jannes and Jambres (apart from the book) the mother is mentioned only by Philostorgius: Μωσῆς... τοὺς περὶ Ἰαννὴν καὶ Ἰαμβρὴν ἔλκεσι κολασάμενος, καὶ τὴν θατέρου τούτων μητέρα τῷ θανάτῳ παρεπέμψατο (FPG no. 4; cf. I.3.20 above). In the book she is more prominent and, in the absence of the two brothers, is entrusted to the care of their adherents (see 4a + →). The last part of Philostorgius' statement, however, contradicts what the book tells us, namely, that Jannes and Jambres are sons of the same mother. So, for example, 4a↓ speaks of "our mother" and in 5f→ Jambres buries "his mother" in or near the tomb of Jannes. But whereas the traditions, with the exception of Philostorgius, totally ignore the mother, the father, Balaam, receives considerable attention in Hebrew midrashim (cf. I.3.2, 6, 8-11, 29, 32), but none at all in the book as far as we can

tell, except in the genealogy of the Michigan papyrus (see *Notes* on 1ab→). Consequently, all evidence in our possession, apart from Philostorgius, indicates that Jannes and Jambres were full brothers.

7 εἶδεν. Since the mother is the object of Jannes' attention in line 15ff., she is likely the recipient of the dream whose content is reported in lines 7-14. The form, however, is 3rd sg rather than 1st sg. Moreover, line 11 sees a change from the *oratio obliqua* of line 10 to *oratio recta*.

8 τετρωβόλων μεστόν. Both words are something of a problem. We begin with the second one. We have assumed that μεστόν is coordinate with ἔχοντα and ἐρχόμενον, viz. acc masc sg. Note also -ν earlier in the line, which may be a further co-ordinate item, and also the fact that a two letter ending plus καὶ and ἔχον- properly fills the lacuna spanning lines 8 and 9. As for the word *per se*—the four clearly legible letters make μεστός (or conceivably one of its derivatives) virtually certain. Moreover, the preceding case inflection suggests a genitive, as one would expect. The precise meaning, however, of μεστός in this context is not at all clear. If it is indeed co-ordinate with the two (or three) words we have mentioned and hence is descriptive of a person, its likely meaning is "laden with" or "carrying," a sense well within its conceivable range and in fact twice given in LSJ (cf. also τὸ πρόσωπόν σου χαρίτων μεστόν of EsthLXX 5:2a = Hanhart D14). This brings us to the meaning of τετρωβόλων. There is relatively little doubt about its reading. The first four letters are clear and β is virtually assured by its characteristic base. Only the next letter is uncertain, though ω is decidedly our best choice. That gives us what has been printed; however, the sense here of "four-obol pieces" is obscure.

9 πρίονα σιδηροῦν. Within biblical literature only AmosLXX 1:3 makes explicit mention of an "iron saw," said to have been used by the Syrians against the pregnant women of Gilead. Vita Isaiae 1:1 has the prophet sawn in two.

10 κυπάρισσον. The tree imagery in our passage is reminiscent of Ezek 31, Dan 4 and Mk 4; however, the species of tree in question points more specifically to Ezek 31 where, in its Greek version, the κυπάρισσος symbolizes Egypt and its Pharaoh. (See also *Genesis Apocryphon* XIX where in Abram's dream he himself is portrayed as a cedar-tree [𐤇𐤌 = EzekMT 31] in danger of being cut down, as well as 2 Baruch 36 where the cedar is portrayed as the epitome of wickedness and consequently destroyed.) The tree of Ezek 31, which like those of Dan 4 and Mk 4 is a representation of the world-tree, is said to have

grown tall and mighty, rivaling the trees of the Garden of Eden (vss 8-9) and provoking them to jealousy, but because of its pride it is brought down (vs 12) and cast into Hades (vs 15). In neither Ezek 31 nor Dan 4, however, is a saw adduced as the instrument of destruction. Whether the tree symbolizes Jannes in the first instance, rather than Pharaoh (and Egypt) as in Ezekiel, we do not know for certain but Jannes' central role in our book makes this interpretation likely. The king, however, does seem to be given some attention in line 3.

12 σπιθαμὰς τρεῖς. The same phrase re-appears in 1cd + ↓ 10. Evidently, the stump of the tree, to a height of some 27 in. or 68.5 cm, is left standing. This is reminiscent of Dan 4:15 (Greek 4:12), though there the measurement of the stump is not given.

ὠρθῶσεν δέ. Since Jambres is the only one of our three-some left out of the present action, it is not impossible that it was he who, in the mother's dream (line 14), sets the tree upright again. In that case the cypress-tree could symbolize Jannes and the fate that awaits him, and Jambres' act might adumbrate the necromancy he will perform on his brother later on in the book (see 5a + →). The presence of δέ may indicate that the actor in line 12 is someone other than the being who cut down the tree in 11, though it could merely signal two slightly contrasting acts by the same individual, as it apparently does in line 10. The size of the lacuna at the end of the line in any case suggests a discrete subject.

13 ἡμέρας ὀκτώ. Elsewhere in our document we twice read of a seven day period (2a + → 4, 3a + → 1) and once perhaps of a fortnight (2a + ↓ 23). Probably here as well, a week is meant (cf. e.g. Jn 20:26), specifically counted from sabbath to sabbath inclusive (cf. e.g. Ant 7, 366). Its precise significance is not transparent.

13-14. A phrase like ἔστη οὕτως would make sense, fill the lacuna adequately and make proper use of the apparent sigma.

15-16 ἀποδραμοῦσαν. Given the grammatical context, this feminine participle is best read as future active rather than (2nd) aorist of ἀποτρέχω. For future active in place of the usual medio-passive see Mandilaras *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri* §367. This verb's muted sense of "leaving" as opposed to "running off/away" is well attested in the LXX.

17 εἰς τὰ ἴδια. This reading makes preceding πορευθῆναι probable, even though the latter is slightly long. Perhaps ε was written for αι as on other occasions in our text (see I.9). Lines 15-18 have been construed to mean that Jannes dismisses the dream, wants his mother to leave and evidently sends her

home. Possibly out of concern for her, he prefers to keep her out of harm's way and, consequently, sends her home to tend her private affairs with orders to keep the dream to herself. A similar concern for her well-being is evidenced in $4a + \rightarrow$. It is equally possible, of course, that he simply wants to be left alone. There is reason to believe that the two are at present somewhere on the magicians' private estate.

TRANSCRIBED TEXT

Frames 1 ↓ c, d, 3 ↓ h, 4 ↓ c

	1c	1d
1		
2	νη	υθεια
3	ςαυ	μενοc
4		βρηνα
5		ςμητρο το
6		φειπ τη
7		ε γκαι ςπαρ
8		ειμικ ιοα ^{νθρωπ} γ'γελοcτο
9		πριονα· αγ'γελοcτουθεο
10		ιαcτηγκυπαριccοναφηκ
11		θαμαcτριcμεταcτητριατελ
12		εγωεανδετουτοντονκαιρο
13		ωμακαριοcειμιθλιψιδεμεξ
14		ςεγυπτωνοτανεγωαποθλ
15		γ'γιλενδεοϊαννηςπαcιντ
16		γιτεcοικοδομοικαιαρχ τεκτο
17		εριτιχιντονπαραδιcονκαι κοπ

	4c	3h
1	οναφη	κεναυ
2	ατηραυ	των

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

Frame 1cd3h4c↓

c. 2 lines lost

-]. [.....
]υθεισα[.....
]μενος [.]. [.....
 Ἰάμ]βρην ἀνη[.....
 5 τῇ]ς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ....
 αὐτ]ῷ εἶπ[εν· Ὁ]τι η[....
]... ε. [...]ν καὶ [...]ς παρ[...
] εἰμι κ[α]ὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος το. [...
 .. τὸν] πρίονα· ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ
 10 ... πρ]ίσας τὴν κυπάρισσον ἄφηκ[εν αὐ-
 τὴν σπι]θαμὰς τριῖς· μετὰ ἔτη τρία τελ[ειώ-
 σω..] ἐγὼ· ἐὰν δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸ[ν..
]ω μακάριός εἰμι· θλίψις δὲ με[...
 ... εἰ]ς Ἑγυπτῶν ὅταν ἐγὼ ἀποθλ[ίβω·
 15 παρῇ]γγιλεν δὲ ὁ Ἰάννης πᾶσιν τ[οῖς
 τεχ]γίτες οἰκοδόμοις καὶ ἀρχ[ι]τέκτο-
 σιν π]εριτιχῖν τὸν παράδισον καὶ [σ]κοπ-
 ῖν αὐτ]ὸν ἄφηκεν αὐ[τοῦς.....].
]ατηρ αὐτῶν [.....

bottom of page

8	ανθρωπος: αγγελος*	11	rd	τρεις	14	rd	αιγυπ-	
τον	15	rd	παρηγγειλεν	16	rd	τεχνιταις	17	rd
περιτειχειν			rd	παραδεισον		rd	σκοπειν	

...

...

...

... Jambres...

5 ... his mother...

... said to him, "Because...

... and...

... I am and(?) the man...

... the saw. An angel of God

- 10 having sawed down the cypress-tree, left
 it three spans. After three years
I will complete (it). But if during this period
 . . . I am happy. But affliction . . .
 . . . against Egypt, whenever *I* bring about affliction.”
- 15 Then Jannes ordered all his
 craftsmen, builders and master-builders
 to build a wall around the paradise and to keep an eye
 on it, he dismissed them . . .
 . . . their . . .

Notes:

For the correct placement of lines 16 -τεκτο and 17 -κοπ see *Notes* on cd + → . 5 αὐτοῦ. Since it is Jannes who in line 15 responds

to the message that has been received, it is likely he who is being referred to here as well as in the αὐτῷ of line 6, where he is apparently addressed by the emissary, whose speech continues until line 15. 7 παρ. Not impossibly we have here a reference to the

παράδεισος (see line 17 which presupposes a prior reference) which had been entered by an extra-terrestrial visitor, as is clear from what follows. More likely, however, is an appropriate epithet parallel to ὁ ἄνθρωπος. 8 ὁ ἄνθρωπος. At first glance it is tempting to

supply τοῦ θεοῦ (or θεοῦ) as an attributive, the more since το is clearly legible. What follows the latter, however, does not look like υ. Furthermore, this reconstruction poses some problems vis-à-vis πρίονα, which one expects to be grammatically related to what precedes. But the lacuna in 8/9 can accommodate at most 8 letters. Consequently, it seems likely that the scribe in line 8 not only mistakenly wrote αγγελος for ανθρωπος but was in the process of copying the entire phrase αγγελος του θεου from the next line. Noticing his mistake, he then wrote over the first word and presumably modified the rest as well. This would explain the distorted (το)υ. A participle such as ἔχων/σχών would be suitable in the context. In that case, the individual in question is identifying himself as, *inter alia*, the person with the saw, seen in the mother's dream, though (according to line 9) it was an angel of God who actually cut down the cypress-tree. Though the identity of ὁ ἄνθρωπος is not fully certain, it is probable that it is Moses (this would be enhanced by reading ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ in line 8 [cf. Deut 33:1, Josh 14:6, 1Par 23:14, 2Par 30:16,

1Esdr 5:48, Ezra 3:2)), who then apparently tells Jannes that a period of three years will elapse before a next event will take place. If during the intervening period something unknown to us transpires, he counts himself fortunate/blessed. But affliction will strike Egypt, whenever *he* launches it. Though the details of coming doom are not spelled out at this point in the tale, that doom is threatened is beyond serious doubt. The entire episode is best understood as the fulfillment of the mother's dream, related on the preceding page in our document. ἄνθρωπος. Cf. 4i→ 1 (Trans. Text) for another uncontracted instance.

9 τὸν (πρίονα). An anaphoric article is likely to have been present, as is the case with κυπάρισσον in the following line. Both the tree and the saw have already been mentioned in the mother's dream (see cd→). θεοῦ. Elsewhere in our text θεός appears only contracted. 10 πρίσας. Some compound was evidently read. If διαπρώ is preferred, the sense may be that of dismemberment.

11 σπιθαμὰς τρεῖς. See 1cd→ 12. μετὰ ἔτη τρία. The tree-stump measuring three spans in height is said to signify three years, after which interval the speaker will evidently complete what the angel has begun. The distinction between these two individuals is clearly marked by emphatic ἐγώ in line 12. Hence τελειώσω is suitable, though somewhat short. Also possible is that three full years (τέλεια) are being spoken of. In that case, however, exceedingly little space remains for a verb. The three years is evidently a period during which Jannes (and probably Egypt, including its king) can come to his senses and change course, in order to avoid the adumbrated doom. If this interpretation is correct, our text pictures a three-stage event: 1. the mother's dream, 2. the realization of that dream (by the angel) and 3. Moses' completion and implementation of the angel's symbolic act. The three-year interval between 1 and 2, in addition to being understood as a reprieve aimed at underscoring Jannes' obduracy, may also echo Moses' (forty-year) absence from Egypt in the biblical account, an item perhaps difficult to ignore by any biblically oriented story-teller.

13 με-. Since ε is virtually assured, we might reconstruct μέλλει ἰέναι (or some such infinitive), provided it be construed as a simple future. The entire expression, however, can scarcely be longer than 7 letters, excluding εἰς, unless we assume that the scribe wrote significantly into the margin. Itacism could reduce the phrase by 2 letters. Alternatively, we might restore e.g. μεγάλη ἤξει.

14 ἀποθλίβω. Since what follows θ must be either α or λ, choices are

few. Words such as ἀποθάνω (“[when] I die”), ἀποθαρρῶ (“... I take courage”) and ἀποθαυμάζω (“... I marvel much”) scarcely recommend themselves because of meaning. The last mentioned is, moreover, too long for the lacuna. That leaves us with ἀποθλίβω. In biblical literature, it is used for physical pressure (Num 22:25, Lk 8:45) and affliction at the hands of an enemy (ExAq 3:9, JudgSym 10:12, PsSym 5:9). Especially Ex 3:9 is interesting, because the reference is to the affliction with which the Egyptians are afflicting Israel (LXX reads simplex forms for Aquila’s ἀποθλιμμόν and ἀποθλίβουσιν). Because of the use of θλίψις in the apodosis (see line 13) and because in Moses’ (?) mouth it would signal a complete turning of the tables, ἀποθλίβω may be considered appropriate. The passive is virtually excluded by reasons of space. The direct object of this consistently transitive verb would naturally be Egypt and the Egyptians. It should be noted that the proposed reading significantly strengthens the identification of “the man” as Moses, and ἐγώ, in this line as well as in line 12, underlines that it is he who calls the shots.

16 τεχνίταις, οἰκοδόμοις, ἀρχιτέκτοσιν. Though all three terms occur separately in biblical literature, they do not appear together.

17 περιτειχεῖν. Denominative verbs from τεῖχος are regularly formed with -ίζω. LSJ notes -έω only for the simplex form in Herodotus.

παράδεισον. In our survey of literary traditions we noted (I.3.38-39) that the garden of Jannes and Jambres is described in three related ancient sources: 1. Palladius’ *Historia Lausiaca* ch. 18, 5-8; 2. the *Life of the Holy Macarius of Alexandria* of unknown authorship (PG 34 §254-255); and 3. the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* ch. 21, 5-12, written by an anonymous monk from the Mount of Olives. The *Life* is of uncertain date but the two *Histories* were written circa 400 AD, (Palladius’ in 419/420). All three detail an account told by Macarius of Alexandria (Macarius ‘of Egypt’ in the Greek text of the *Historia Monach.* but ‘of Alexandria’ in Rufinus’ Latin version) of his visit to the garden of Jannes and Jambres. Since there is good reason to believe that the author of the Macarius tradition was acquainted with *Jannes and Jambres*, we begin by quoting all three accounts in full.

Historia Lausiaca 18, 5-8:

He [Mac. of Alex.] once wished, so he told us, to enter the funerary garden (κηποτάφιον) of Jannes and Jambres. Now this funerary garden had belonged to the magicians who had power along with Pharaoh back in the old days. Since they held power for a long time

they built the work with stones four feet square. They erected their monument (μνῆμα) there and put away much gold. They even planted trees there, for the spot was damp, and they dug a well, too. (6) Since the holy man did not know the road, he followed the stars, traversing the desert as though it were a sea. Taking a bundle of reeds, he placed one at every mile, leaving a mark so that he might find the way back on his return. After traveling for nine days, he reached the place. The demon who ever acts in opposition to the athletes of Christ collected all the reeds and put them by his head as he slept near the funerary garden. (7) He found the reeds upon arising. God had permitted this for his own further training, so that he might not place trust in reeds, but rather in the pillar of cloud that led Israel forty years in the desert. He used to say: "Seventy demons rushed from the funerary garden to meet me, shouting and fluttering like crows in front of me, saying: 'What do you wish, Macarius? What do you want, monk? Why did you come to our place? You cannot stay here.' I told them," he said, "Let me but go in and look about, and then leave." (8) He continued: "Upon entering, I found a hanging brass jar and an iron chain near the well, already consumed by time; the pomegranates had nothing inside, so dried out were they by the sun." (transl.[slightly modified] by Robert T. Meyer, *Palladius: The Lausiack History*. pp. 59-60)

Vita 254-55:

He once wished, so he told us, to enter the funerary garden (κηποτάφιον) of Jannes and Jambres, the magicians of Pharaoh's time, in order to investigate it or to meet the demons of the place, for it is said that they had infested it with many cruel demons, through their surpassing skill in magic, by which they had also attained pre-eminence at that time with Pharaoh. Now when they had gained power in Egypt, they built their structure out of four-foot stones; in it they made their tomb (μνῆμα), and they stored away much gold. As well, they planted all kinds of trees and dug a very large well. They did all this, hoping, perhaps, after their departure, to enjoy a life of τρυφή (τρυφάω) in this paradise (παράδεισος). Since he did not know the way to this garden (κῆπος), Christ's servant, Macarius, followed the stars, traversing the desert as sailors cross the seas. Since he had a bundle of reeds with him, he placed one at every mile as a mark, in order to be able to find his way back through the desert. In nine days he reached the garden (κῆπος), and when night fell he slept for a little while, and the evil demon gathered all the reeds and put them by his head. Perhaps God had allowed this for his own further training, lest he put his trust in the guidance of reeds and not in the grace of God, who through the pillar of fire and cloud, for more than forty years in the desert, led the disobedient and contrary people of Israel. And when he awoke, he found the reeds in a bundle. The saint said: "When I approached the garden (κῆπος), there came out to meet me about seventy demons of

all shapes, some shouting, others jumping, others noisily gnashing their teeth at me, still others like crows fluttering in front of me saying: 'What do want, Macarius, tempter among monks? Why did you come to us? We did not harm any of the monks, did we? Yonder you have what belongs to you, which you share with your kind, namely, the desert, from which you have chased our kin. We want nothing to do with you. Why do you enter our territory? As a hermit, be content with the desert. This place was allotted to us by its builders. You cannot stay here. Why are you trying to enter where no living human has entered, where since the time of its builders, (our) brothers have been buried by us?'" When the demons continued in their agitations and wailing, he said to them, says he, "'Let me just enter and have a look, then I will leave.' The demons countered, 'Give us your word of honour' So I said, 'I do.' Immediately they vanished.'" He continued, "Upon entering, I found a brass jar, hanging by an iron chain near the well, already consumed by time; the dry pomegranates had nothing inside."

Historia Monachorum 21, 5-12:

Another time after much fasting and prayer he [Mac. of Egypt] asked God to show him the paradise (παράδεισος) which Jannes and Jambres had planted in the desert in their desire to make a copy (ἀντίτυπον) of the true paradise. (6) When he had wandered through the desert for three weeks, and not having eaten during this time was already fainting, an angel set him near the place. There were demons everywhere guarding the entrances of the paradise and not allowing him to enter. The place was very large (παμμέγεθες), covering an enormous area. (7) After he had prayed he made a bold effort and succeeded in entering. Inside he found two holy men. They had entered by the same means themselves, and had already spent a considerable time there. When they had said a prayer, they embraced each other, overjoyed at the meeting. Then they washed his feet and set before him some of the fruit of the paradise (παράδεισος). He partook and gave thanks to God, marvelling at the size of the fruit and its varied colours. And they said to each other, "How good it would be if all the monks were here." (8) "In the middle of the paradise (παράδεισος)," he said, "there were three large springs which welled up from the depths and watered the paradise (παράδεισος) and its huge trees, which were very productive and bore every kind of fruit that exists under the heavens." (9) When he had stayed with them for seven days, Macarius asked if he could go back to the settled region and bring the monks with him. But those holy men said to him that he could not do this. For the desert was a trackless waste, and there were many demons in every part of it who made monks lose their way and destroyed them, so that many others who had often wished to come had perished. (10) But Macarius could not bear to remain here any longer and said, "I must bring them here that they might enjoy this delight

(τροφή).” He set off in haste for the settled region, carrying some of the fruit as proof. And taking with him a large bundle of palm branches, he planted them as markers in the desert so that he should not lose his way when he came back. (11) Then he slept for a while in the desert, and when he woke up he found that all the palm branches had been gathered up by the demons and placed by his head. Then getting up, he said to them, “If it is the will of God, you cannot prevent us from entering into the paradise (παράδεισος).” (12) When he arrived at the settled region, he kept showing the fruit to the monks to persuade them to come away to the paradise (παράδεισος). Many fathers gathered round him and said to him, “Could it not be that this paradise (παράδεισος) has come into being for the destruction of our souls? For if we were to enjoy it in this life, we should have received our portion of good things while still on earth. What reward would we have afterwards when we come into the presence of God? For what kind of virtue shall we be recompensed?” And they persuaded Macarius not to return. (transl. [slightly modified] by Norman Russell, *The Lives of the Desert Fathers*. pp. 108-09)

To determine the interdependence and original shape of these accounts lies beyond our scope. (For two Syriac versions of this episode in *Hist. Laus.* see Draguet in CSCO 389-390 ch. 18, 6 and 11.) What all three clearly picture is Jannes and Jambres’ garden, called a κηποτάφιον (Palladius and *Vita*), a κήπος (*Vita*) or a παράδεισος (*Vita*, *Hist. Mon.*), planted with all sorts of trees notably fruit trees. Furthermore, two of the three texts, Palladius and the *Vita*, mention the magicians’ grave, labeled a μνήμα or subsumed under κηποτάφιον, and, moreover, suggest that their tomb was part of a larger complex of buildings. Stored up in it was a large quantity of treasure. Our book (5a + → 15) speaks of it as the μνημεῖον of Jannes, in which the mother is also buried. But other designations may not have survived. Of further interest is that, according to the *Hist. Mon.*, their estate was situated in the desert. Interestingly, in our book we are being told (4a + →) that, when Jannes’ death is imminent, he takes his brother Jambres to *Memphis*, which suggests that their normal place of residence was elsewhere. Since Macarius lived in the western desert and, in all three strands of the tradition, traverses only desert, the Macarius account presupposes that the magicians’ home was west of the Nile. A location in the desert or on the edge of the desert, as *Hist. Mon.* would have it, is, consequently, entirely in keeping with our book. Moreover, Jannes’ physical condition suggests that the distance from Memphis was not great. With in biblical literature, one may associate Jannes and Jambres’

garden, in the first instance, with the garden-tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, but also with Manasseh who, according to 2Par 33:20, was buried in the παράδεισος (4Rgns 21:18 calls it a κῆπος) of his house. More generally, we can point to the funerary gardens encountered throughout the Greek and Roman world (B. Keil, "Über Kleinasiatische Grabinschriften," p. 546) and, with reference to Alexandria, we may recall Strabo's description of Necropolis, a suburb west of the city, as containing many gardens and graves (17.1.10). P. M. Fraser in his *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (vol. 1 p. 27) states that these funerary gardens were extensively used as orchards and fruit nurseries, and in an earlier article he notes that such gardens were found elsewhere in the city as well (P. M. Fraser and B. Nicholas, "The Funerary Garden of Mousa"). There is little doubt that the Macarius tradition was thinking of a funerary garden. Indeed, Palladius uses the very term. But is this what our book portrayed? In the course of the story, the book speaks not only of the paradise and the tomb but also of the magicians' house, library and just possibly of a Sarapis shrine (see 1ef→). As Bernhard Laum notes (*Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike* 1 p. 81), the tomb complex could include rooms and installations of various kinds. His list includes living-quarters, sleeping-facilities, dining-rooms, halls and bathing-installations. However, one strand (the other two are silent on the question) of the Macarius tradition, namely, *Hist. Mon.*, alleges that the magicians' complex (χωρίον) was "very large and covered an immense area" (παμμέγεθες . . . καὶ πολὺ τὸ διάστημα εἶχεν) and it seems indeed likely that theirs, rather than being a funerary garden *per se*, was a private estate of the kind we find in Egypt during Ptolemaic and Roman times. Such estates included παράδεισοι but were not themselves so labeled. The size of the magicians' holdings may be expected to have been commensurate with their perceived status at Pharaoh's court. From the Ptolemaic period the estates owned by Apollonius the Dioecetes are best known (M. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B. C.* and E. Wipszycka, "The Δωρεά of Apollonios the Dioeketes in the Memphite Nome,") and a relevant literary model from the Roman period is the estate of Petephres, Aseneth's father, in the romance *Joseph and Aseneth* (2:19-20). The estate of Hyrcanus the Tobiad in Transjordan, well described by Josephus (Ant 12, 229-33; cf. P. Gentelle, "Un 'paradis' hellénistique en Jordanie: étude de géo-archéologie"), is a good example from outside of

Egypt. All three included paradises, though Petephres' orchard is not specifically labeled. Equally possible, of course, is that the author of our book was thinking of a temple-estate, since the magicians' grandfather was a priest of Apis and they themselves seemingly had cultic connections as well. (For such estates see M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, vol. 1 p. 280ff.). That these temple-estates also included παράδεισοι is shown by the Rosetta Stone (M. L. Strack, *Inscriptiones Graecae Ptolemaicae*, no. 69). In more specific terms, it is not impossible that our author was partly inspired by the Lochias promontory, east of the Great Harbour, where the royal palaces were located. About these Fraser comments, "... we shall probably not be far wrong if we regard 'The Palaces' as consisting almost exclusively of royal buildings, shrines, pleasure-gardens, etc." (*Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. 1 p. 15). As we will see, such pleasure gardens are of particular interest in our story.

A somewhat curious feature in our story is that Jannes gives orders that the paradise be surrounded with a wall, ostensibly in an effort to prevent further intrusions. Since a paradise, in line with its Persian etymology, was normally an enclosed area (cf., e.g., John Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch* p. 53ff.), even though there is rarely explicit indication of this for Egyptian versions, one might expect that the magicians' paradise was walled from the beginning, as were Egyptian gardens generally from Pharaonic times onward. One wonders, therefore, whether perhaps the paradise has been planted only recently and/or the author is making use of the wall-motif in his portrayal of Jannes' willful opposition. Since the magicians' paradise was reputedly intended as a counterpoint to the Garden of Eden, is the wall perhaps related to Gen 3:24, where the cherubim after Adam and Eve's expulsion are to prevent their re-entry and gaining access to the tree of life? (Moreover, early Christian representations of the biblical paradise consistently show it as walled.) Does Jannes perhaps in similar manner bar all but his own kind?

No source apart from the Macarius tradition, ancient or mediaeval, gives any hint of the garden of Jannes and Jambres. That alone suggests that the Macarius tradition hails from a distinct source. That this source was our book is made virtually certain not only by Frame 1cd + ↓ which explicitly mentions their paradise but also by later frames of our papyrus which show that some of the scenes in our drama are set in what must have been their private estate somewhere

outside of Memphis. **19** -ατηρ αὐτῶν. It is possible that we have here a reference to the magicians' father, but if so it would be his only appearance in the extant materials, apart from the genealogy of the Michigan papyrus.

TRANSCRIBED TEXT

Frame 1 → e, f

	e	f
1	ομ	α
2	νν	τεδεηγ'γ
3	αυτ	ερκιπονηρω
4		ςκωειασινσερα
5		λεγωντουτ
6		ασημιααυτοις
7		ηναυτητου
8		τιθανατογ ελε
9		οναδελφ ναυτου
10		περ τηςμητρος

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

Frame 1ef→

c. 12 lines lost

.....].. α[....
]τε δὲ ἡγγ[..
]. ἔρκει πονηρῶ [..
]σχω εἶασιν σερα[..
5]. λέγων· Τοῦτ[ο
 τ]ὰ σημῖα αὐτοῖς [..
]ην αὐτῇ του[....
]. ομ[...]τι θάνατον [..]ελε
 Ἰά]νν[ην τ]ὸν ἀδελφ[ὸ]ν αὐτοῦ
10]. αὐτ[...] περ[ὶ] τῆς μητρὸς
 bottom of page

3 rd ἐρκει

4 rd ιασιν

6 rd σημεια

...
 ... But... approached
 ... a wicked enclosure...
 ... healing... Serapis/Serapeion
5 ... saying, “This
 ... the signs to them
 ... (to) her/it (?)
 ... death...
 ... Jannes his brother
10 ... them concerning (their) mother

Notes:

If the ἔρκος πονηρόν of line 3 is taken to refer directly to the wall Jannes ordered his workmen to build on 1cd + ↓, 1ef must follow 1cd, and the page order likely remains → ↓. Such a conclusion on the order of the pairs of fragments is not fully assured, however, since ἔρκος more probably stands for the entire complex which Jannes built, especially, one surmises, the counter-paradise. This conclusion gains probability when one considers that such a paradise

might be labeled evil more easily than a wall built around it, the more if paradises normally were so equipped. On the basis of either interpretation, however, it seems likely that 1ef follows 1cd.

Though the text is brief and fragmentary, a number of conclusions may nonetheless be drawn: 1. Throughout this passage the focus is on the opponents of Jannes, Jambres and their mother. Since we have already noted that it was probably Moses who, on 1cd + l, confronted Jannes with a message of doom which triggered Jannes' order for the defense of the paradise, it seems likely that the opponents here include Moses. More than likely it is he who leads the opposition. Frame 3a + →, moreover, relates that Jannes withstood Moses and Aaron when called to the palace, and the literary traditions similarly array the two sets of brothers as antagonists. 2. A reference to Sarapis or a Sarapeion in line 4 is virtually assured. We may recall here that the unpublished Michigan papyrus mentions an ancestor of Jannes and Jambres (apparently their grandfather, Petephres,) as a priest of Apis and (probably) some other deity whose name has not been preserved (cf. *Notes* on 1ab→). That our magicians would be associated both with Apis and Sarapis, even if the two cults were rarely fused (see Stambaugh, *Sarapis* ch. 6), need not occasion surprise in view of their close relationship. In all probability, the Sarapeion in question (if such it be) was located on the magicians' estate and the brothers may well have been castigated for its construction along with that of the paradise. One may note here in passing the local temples of Onias IV at Leontopolis and Hyrcanus the Tobiad in Transjordan. On the spelling of σερ. versus σαρ. see Thackeray *Grammar* p. 74 where, with a reference to Mayser's *Grammatik* [I.1 p.33-34], he assigns the forms respectively to the Roman and Ptolemaic periods. The spelling of the Beatty manuscript, consequently, tends to support a Roman date for *Jannes and Jambres*, unless the spelling is secondary. 3. The subject of conversation among Jannes and Jambres' opponents, in addition to the Sarapeion and the "enclosure," was evidently the meaning and application of the cypress-tree symbolism of 1cd (see especially τὰ σημεῖα in line 6). Both brothers as well as their mother will be involved in the coming ruin. 4. Though thus far our text has featured Jannes as the chief protagonist, lines 8-9 alert the reader to Jambres' distinct role in the drama, a role which pre-dates Jannes' demise.

2 τε. It is tempting to think that reference is here being made to τεχνῖται (= -τε) who came (approached) and constructed an evil

enclosure, or possibly equipped the paradise with a wall. 4 ἱα-
σιν. Though other readings could be adduced, a reference to “heal-
ing” in connection with Sarapis or a Sarapis shrine makes good
sense and may be of significance later in our story (see *Notes* on
3a + → 14).

TRANSCRIBED TEXT

Frame 1 ↓ e, f

	e	f
1	τιςα	πεκριθη
2	ροσκ	ηωρατωναμα
3	αμβ	μημιμνησκομ
4		καιειπεναυτω
5		λιπεταιτηςγυ
6		καιειπενοϊανν
7		πασηγυνεκο
8		κοιτητουϊδιου
9		ετερωαδελ

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

Frame 1ef↓

c. 12 lines lost

ἀ]πεκρίθη[.

ἡ ὥρα τῶν αμα. [.

μὴ μνησκομ[.

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ [ὁ Ἰάμβρης· Πᾶς ἀνὴρ ὃς ἀπο-

5 λίπεται τῆς γυ[ναικὸς αὐτοῦ.

καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Ἰάνν[ης.

πάσης γυνεκδ[ς ἥ]τις ἀ[πολείπεται τῆς

κοίτης τοῦ ιδίου [ἀνδ]ρὸς κ[αὶ κολλᾶται

ἐτέρῳ, ἀδελ[φὲ μου Ἰ]άμβ[ρη], ...

bottom of page

5 rd (απο)λείπεται

7 rd γυναικος

(s)he answered . . .

the hour/season of those who . . .

not remembering . . .

and Jambres said to him, "Every man who

5 deserts his wife . . ."

And Jannes said, ". . .

every woman who deserts the

bed of her own husband and has sex

with another, my brother Jambres . . ."

Notes:

The existence of Jannes and Jambres' paradise has already been noted (*Notes* on 1cd + ↓); the present page occasions a discussion of its nature and purpose. Why was the magicians' paradise planted and what use was made of it in the opposition launched by Jannes and Jambres? Again the Macarius tradition comes to the assistance of our fragmentary book. The *Historia Monachorum* (5; see *Notes* on 1cd + ↓), having stated that Macarius, through prayer and fasting, petitioned God to show him the paradise of Jannes and Jambres, relates further that the magicians had planted it in their desire to

make a copy (ἀντίτυπον) of the true paradise, and the author of the *Vita* (see *ibid.*) suggests, perhaps tongue-in-cheek, that they may have planted it in the hope that, after their “departure thence” (ἄφιξις, variant μετὰστασις = death), they might live a life of τρυφή in their own paradise. Though the remnants of our book nowhere explicitly address the question of purpose, what the Macarius tradition relates is entirely compatible with its central thrust, namely, Jannes and Jambres as willful, die-hard opponents of divine power. Moreover, because the paradise is their creation, we may safely assume that ἀντίτυπον means not simply “copy,” in any neutral sense, but is meant to convey the idea of a rival or counter paradise (with the stress on ἀντί as “against”). The evil associated with the magicians’ paradise is seemingly not of a metaphysical kind. That is to say, neither the Macarius tradition nor the book gives any indication that the trees, for instance, were inherently evil and produced enchanted fruit which would bring downfall or death to anyone eating it. Quite the contrary, according to *Hist. Monach*, Macarius is so impressed with the marvelous fruit of the paradise that he tries to persuade other monks to join him in returning to the place. They, however, narrowly dissuade him by pointing out that if they allow themselves to enjoy such luxury in this life, no further reward will likely be granted them in the life to come (12). In the book we see that on at least two occasions trees, first a cypress (1cd +) and later (2a →) the foliage of the trees of the paradise as a whole, are vehicles for omens, forecasting death and ruin. But not only does this not imply an evil use to which the trees were put, it is evidently Moses’ God, and not the magicians, who employs the omens. More to the point, when Jannes summons Egypt’s wise men to his private estate to view the lush growth of his paradise, he orders them, for some reason, to sit under an apple-tree (2a → 8-9). And it is apparently this same apple-tree under which Jambres seats himself, when he performs necromancy, following Jannes’ death (5a + → 19). In both cases, communication with the gods is likely to have taken place. One may cite, by way of parallel, Odysseus’ session with Athena under the sacred olive tree (Odyssey 13.372-440), which Porphyry (*On the Cave of the Nymphs in the Odyssey* 35) interprets along such lines, and also the suggestion made to Joan of Arc at her trial that her inspiration from St. Catherine and St. Margaret had been received under a tree and hence was of the wrong kind (see G. van der Leeuw, *Phaenomenologie* p. 29). Whatever the precise explanation, we are

dealing with a question of use, not of essence. The most intriguing piece of information that may cast some light on the use that was made of the paradise comes on the page of our book now under discussion, namely, 1ef^l. The text is not as complete as one could wish, but the gist of what is being said is perfectly clear. A discussion about marital fidelity is in progress and in answer to Jambres' (?) statement focusing on a husband leaving his wife, Jannes apparently says, "[I also approve of (or some such statement)] every wife who abandons the bed of her own husband and [has sex] with another (man)." Since both husband and wife are mentioned as leaving their respective partners, what is being discussed is, apparently, the total dissolution or negation of marriage. Seeing who Jannes and Jambres are said to be, we may safely infer that they condone rather than condemn. It seems indeed likely that we have here a direct counter to Gen 2:24: "... a person will leave his father and mother and will cleave to his wife and the two will become one flesh," God's institution of marriage for the first human pair in (the true) paradise. If this interpretation is correct and if the magicians may be assumed to have practised what they preached, we see here at least one concrete way in which the paradise of Jannes and Jambres was a counter-paradise, a perversion of the biblical paradise. Consequently, it is probably for good reason that the question of marital infidelity re-appears later in our book, namely, in Jannes' paenitentia from hell (7a + →). One may well wonder where the author of our book would have found the inspiration for his idea of a counter-paradise. The answer to that question, we believe, is essentially two-fold. One obvious passage, already noted (*Notes* on 1cd + →), is EzekLXX 31, an oracle against Egypt in which Pharaoh is pictured as a mighty cypress-tree (κυπάρισσος) whose pride brings about its descent to Hades. It may not be accidental that the entire story of Pharaoh in this chapter parallels exactly the tale of Jannes. The cypress-tree which is cut down in any case forms a direct connection between our book and Ezek 31 with shades of Dan 4, since a heavenly messenger is the agent. More particularly, Ezek 31:8-9 introduces the theme of rivalry, albeit one-sided: "Such cypress-trees [as the one in question] do not exist in God's paradise... no tree in God's paradise was like it in beauty because of the mass of its branches, and the trees of God's paradise of delight envied (ἐζήλωσαν) it." It seems reasonable to suggest that the author of *Jannes and Jambres* borrowed from Ezek 31 not only the imagery

of the cypress-tree, but also found here inspiration for his motif of rivalry. Another source of the author's inspiration was, we believe, the paradise of delight (παράδεισος τῆς τρυφῆς) of GenLXX 3:23-24. John Lee some years ago already suggested that the παράδεισος of Genesis corresponds well to Ptolemaic παράδεισοι (*Lexical Study* p. 55). More recently, G. Husson has argued not only that the biblical παράδεισος was directly modeled on Ptolemaic παράδεισοι but also that the term τρυφή is rooted in royal Ptolemaic ideology ("Le paradis de délices" [1988]). Citing by way of background the well-known role of Persian paradises as playgrounds for kings and nobles and the attested link between παράδεισος and the concept of τρυφή (Quintus Curtius 7.2.22 and Diodorus 14.80.2), she calls attention to the existence of Alexandria's numerous tree-groves (Strabo 17.1.9-10), as well as the Ptolemies' botanical and zoological interests. Royal παράδεισοι are mentioned several times in the papyri. Next she draws on articles by A. Passerini ("La τρυφή") and J. Tondriau ("La tryphè") to link τρυφή specifically to Ptolemaic ideology (see also Otto and Bengtson *Zur Geschichte* pp. 5, 47-51). In agreement with them she argues that τρυφή encapsulates the ideal life of enjoyment, plenty, prosperity and magnificence epitomized by the king himself. (A similarly ideal life [τρυφή] is said to be the gift of Isis in Isidorus' Hymn II 28; see Vanderlip, *Four Hymns*.) Three of the Ptolemies (III, IV, VIII), Husson points out (following Tondriau), bore the surname Tryphon, "the magnificent," and Tryphaena occurs several times for females of the royal house. Fittingly, she believes, the translator of Genesis borrowed this Ptolemaic image of well-being to describe God's own paradise, man's original and ideal home. Interestingly, however, though τρυφή in official Ptolemaic ideology and in the Septuagint as a descriptive of God's paradise has an entirely positive meaning, it developed, especially in later Greek, an increasingly negative sense, no doubt aided by the perceived indolence on the part of successive Ptolemaic kings. More often than not the word is used to denote a life of reprehensible softness or worse, licentiousness and debauchery. As a case in point we refer to Josephus. For him the life of τρυφή is at times descriptive of royalty, without explicit condemnation (Ant 8, 137.153; 11, 47; 16, 97; 17, 333) but more often it patently involves culpable behaviour or inactivity (War 1, 462.524; 4, 592; Ant 2, 201; 4, 167; 7, 133; 16, 301; Life 284), including neglect of divine law (Ant 3, 223; 5, 132.134.180; 6, 34; Apion 2,

228). Typical of his use of the term is his comment on Samuel's sons who, says he, "abandoned themselves to τρυφή and sumptuous fare (δίαται πολυτελείς), thereby acting in defiance first of God and secondly of the prophet, their own father. . . ." (Ant 6, 34). (Given his generally negative view, his lack of comment on the biblical παράδεισος τῆς τρυφῆς may be more than a coincidence.) Similarly, it was τρυφή and ἡδονή that caused the Israelites to disregard God's order to root out the Canaanites (Ant 5, 132). Plutarch charges in his *Lives* that both Demetrius Poliorcetes and Mark Antony abandoned themselves to τρυφή (Comparison 3.1), and, with specific reference to the Ptolemies, Strabo comments that "all the kings after the third Ptolemy, being corrupted by luxurious living (τρυφή), have administered the affairs of government badly, but worst of all the fourth, seventh [= VIII] and the last, Auletes [= XII]. . . ." (17.1.11). Philo frequently comments positively on the biblical παράδεισος τῆς τρυφῆς (possibly reflecting the 'official' meaning) but also uses the term in a negative sense, e.g. to describe Caligula's debauchery (*Gaius* 168) and the wanton life of a prostitute (*Abel and Cain* 21). For a similar association with sexual promiscuity see Plutarch *op. cit.* 4.3 (re Demetrius at the Parthenon). Like Philo's, and no doubt for the same reason, Septuagintal usage is predominantly positive (but see Sir 18:32, 37:29, WisSol 19:11). In NT both Jas 5:5 (τρυφάω) and 2Pet 2:13 (τρυφή) carry a negative meaning, while Lk 7:25 is neutral in sense. The ideal of the Ptolemies, reflected, if Husson is right, in the biblical phrase παράδεισος τῆς τρυφῆς, is perceived by Strabo as in fact a life of self-indulgence and licentiousness. From this perspective, i.e. τρυφή seen not as a virtuous ideal but as culpable self-indulgence, it is not difficult to imagine that the biblical phrase might be turned into its opposite and a παράδεισος of this kind of τρυφή be attributed to Jannes and Jambres by an enterprising author. The two magicians, in that case, would be, at least in part, the embodiment of corrupt government, and it is in this light that we may well begin to discern the *raison d'être* of our book (see I.6 above). We have already suggested that the particular evil associated with the magicians' paradise was of a sexual nature, namely, the negation of Gen 2:24, the divine institution of marriage. If that is accepted, a new look at 2Tim 3:8-9 may be in order before we leave the discussion of their paradise's purpose. The writer of the epistle in 3:1ff. begins with a stereotypical list of sins people will commit in the last days, but, following his cata-

logue, he singles out for specific treatment those individuals who involve themselves with certain kinds of women. According to vss 6-7, among the persons to be avoided are "those who gain entry into homes and ensnare women laden with sins (and) driven by all kinds of lusts (who are) always in the process of learning (new things) but are never able to come to recognition of the truth." Quite clearly the author's opponents are portrayed as individuals who prey on women with an unsavoury record in order to disseminate their libertine outlook. Since these women are pejoratively called *γυναικάρια* laden with sins and driven by lusts, it is obvious that the author focuses on questions of sexual morality. Then comes the example of our magicians: "But as Jannes and Jambres opposed Moses, so also these people are opposing the truth, men corrupt in mind (and) counterfeit in faith/loyalty. But they will not advance very far, for their folly will be clear to all, as was the folly of those (two)." Moses and the truth are seemingly equated and both must, therefore, denote God's commandment, here with specific reference to matters of sexual morality. If the evil *par excellence* of the magicians' paradise, which seemingly plays a central role in our book, was the negation of marriage, Origen may well have been right when he alleged that Paul, the presumed author of 2 Timothy, drew on the book called *Jannes and Jambres*, as a result of which, says Origen, some of his contemporaries rejected the epistle in its entirety. Moreover, the borrowing may well have entailed more than simply the names of the magicians.

In conclusion on the magicians' garden, it is difficult to know whether their counter-paradise bears any kind of relationship to certain gnostic perceptions of biblical Eden. Thus, according to Philip Alexander "The Fall into Knowledge" (Morris and Sawyer, *A Walk in the Garden* pp. 91-104), the *Hypostasis of the Archons* from Nag Hammadi inverts the values of the biblical text. That is to say, positive elements such as the creator, the Garden and the commandment not to eat are perceived as negative, while negative elements like the serpent and human disobedience are seen as positive. Biblical Eden, in short, is recast as a place intended by the powers of the present evil world for human imprisonment and death. Clearly, in some sense this conception might be labeled a counter-paradise.

4 ὁ Ἰάμβρης. The reconstruction of the name here is supported by its occurrence in line 9. The discussion appears to be a dialogue between the two brothers. Πᾶς ἀνὴρ

ὅς. In light of the parallel in line 7 one would prefer to read ὅστις,

but sufficient space for this is lacking. **5, 7 ἀπολείπεται.** In the LXX and the NT this verb does not appear in the context of marital break-up, though several such uses are found in Greek literature generally. Lucian in *Solecist* 9 questions the practice set by Attic orators (cf. Demosthenes 50.4, Andocides 4.14) of using it exclusively for the wife leaving her spouse. He himself regards it appropriate for both marriage partners (see also *Dialog. of the Gods* 8.2 and *Double Indictment* 29). The author of our book clearly sides with Lucian by using it for both, even though he prefers the med-pass + gen to the act + acc. **5 αὐτοῦ.** One might expect this to be followed by, e.g., καλῶς (or possibly εὖ) ποιεῖ, which would fill the lacuna. **8 κολλᾶται.** Gen 2:24 reads προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς, but the prefix is here excluded *spatii causa* and the preposition by the following dative as well. In Genesis the dative is a well attested variant, and Mt 19:5 has both the dative and the simplex verb.

TRANSCRIBED TEXT

Frame 2 → a-g

	a
1	παντα
2	συνκαλες
3	ρροφουστεκα
4	ρεπταπεριπ
5	ντωρικ καιιδωνκ
6	ηνφυτιανθαλλ υσαντουςπ
7	δουσηδησκιαζονταειλαρος
8	ασδεγενομεν σεκελευεν
9	ςκ αιυπομηλεαντιν
10	δεαυτουσιςμοσμεγασεγεν
11	τεεξουρανουβροντωντε
12	γωστεεκρι ωθηγαιτινα
13	αδουσαποτο λαροσιδογταυ
14	Οϊαννησεδραμενειςτηνβιβ
15	θηκηνοπουησαναιδυναμικ

	b	c	d	e	f	g
1	τον	κ	υειαν	ιλις	κ	νομ
2	αλφου	c		δεν		αεγ
3	γτες			λθον	εστως	ελφ
4				ι	εν	ς

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

Frame 2a→

c. 7 lines lost

-] πάντα [.....
] συνκαλέσ[ας ὁ Ἰάν-
 νης πάντας τοῦ]ς σοφούς τε κα[ὶ τοὺς
 μάγους ἡμέρα]ς ἑπτὰ περιπ[οιεῖται
 5 ἐ]ν τῷ οἴκ[ῳ αὐτοῦ] καὶ εἶδων κ[αὶ αὐτοὶ
 τ]ὴν φυτίαν θάλλ[ο]υσαν τοὺς π[ολλοὺς
 κλά]δους ἥδη σκιάζοντας εἴλαρος [χάριν·
 ..]ας δὲ γενόμεν[ο]ς ἐκέλευσεν [ὁ Ἰάν-
 νη]ς κ[αθησθ]αι ὑπὸ μηλέαν τιν[ά· ἄφ-
 10 νω] δὲ αὐτοῦ σισμὸς μέγας ἐγέν[ετο φω-
 νή] τε ἐξ οὐρανοῦ βροντῶν τε [ἄστρα-
 πῶ]ν ὥστε ἐκρη[ί]ζ[ω]θη[ν]αι τινὰ[ς. . . .
 κλ]άδους ἀπὸ το[ῦ εἴ]λαρος ἰδὼν ταῦ[τά τε
 ὁ Ἰάννης] ἔδραμεν εἰς τὴν βιβ[λιο-
 15 θή]κην ὅπου ἦσαν αἱ δυνάμεις [αὐ-
 bottom of page

2 rd συγκαλεσας	5 rd ειδον	6 rd φυτειαν	10 rd
σεισμος	13 rd ιδων	15 rd δυναμεις	

- ... all...
 ... when Jannes had summoned
 both all the wise men and the
 magicians, for seven days he kept them
 5 in his house and they too saw
 the planting in foliage, its many branches
 already providing shade for protection.
 But when he had become... Jannes ordered
 (them) to sit under a certain apple tree.
 10 But suddenly, on the very spot, a great earthquake occurred
 and a sound, from heaven, of both thunder and lightning
 so that some... branches were broken
 off the shelter. When he saw this
 Jannes ran into the library
 where his (magical) tools were

Notes:

Since fragments b-g give little or no text on →, they will be discussed under 2a-g↓. Fragment h is absent from the Transcribed Text because it will be seen to belong to a later page of our book. Though no obvious relationship with our preceding page (1ef↓) is in evidence, enough space is available at the top of 2a→ to allow for a change in scene.

2ff. Who the lead actor is in the present episode needs to be argued. That Jannes is involved in some capacity is certain from line 14 according to which he runs into the library. Lines 2-3, however, speak of summoning (συγκαλέω) Egypt's wise men and magicians(?), and in line 8 someone is said to have issued an order (κελεύω). Both these actions might suggest at first glance that the king is the chief actor at this point in the story. In that case, it would be Pharaoh who first summons the wise men and magicians (καὶ αὐτοὶ of line 5, if correct, would then probably mean that Jannes was already present), subsequently orders his advisors or Jannes (though reconstructing τῷ Ἰάννῃ on lines 8-9 is problematic) to sit under an apple-tree, but when the φυτεία is struck by the storm, it is Jannes who runs into the library to consult his magical tools. If, on the other hand, Jannes is made the lead actor throughout the current episode, the initial ink traces on line 9 can be accommodated and the text as a whole can be made to run more smoothly. In the latter scenario, it is Jannes who convenes Egypt's wise men and magicians, of whom he himself is presumably the head. (The traditions, for the most part, focus on Jannes and Jambres to the exclusion of others.) It is possible that the individuals in question are "the friends" whom we meet explicitly on 4a + → and 5a + ↓. Jannes' wish is for them to view the remarkable φυτεία, which he may have produced by his own magic skill. Such feats are commonly said to be within the magician's domain. We may note, for example, that Simon Magus boasted of being able to make plants and trees grow and to have them produce fruit in a moment of time. Furthermore, since the φυτεία is the target of the storm-cum-earthquake unleashed by God (line 9ff.), it would make sense to posit that Jannes produced it. During the seven days when the φυτεία is being viewed, Jannes accommodates the men in his house. The apparent wording here suits Jannes better than it does the king. Though περιποιεῖται is not absolutely certain, it is nonetheless the only realistic reconstruction. Its ancient meaning of "keep safe" makes good sense in the context, and its modern meaning of "entertain" points up an

interesting semantic shift. The perceived threat against the men no doubt stems from Moses. Lastly on the question of lead actor—we have already noted that Jannes' (and Jambres') private estate is the scene of much of the action in our book. Since the apple-tree of line 9 is apparently the same tree under which Jambres in 5a + → conjures up Jannes' shade from Hades and which, therefore, is likely to have been near his grave, the scene for the present action must be the magicians' private estate. All in all, then, there remains little doubt that Jannes plays the lead role throughout the passage.

3-4 τοὺς μάγους. If it is indeed Jannes rather than the king who summons these individuals, it is possible that a different term should be read. See, for example, Gen 41:8 (ἐξηγηταί and σοφοί), Ex 7:11 (σοφισταί, φάρμακοι and ἐπαυδοί), Dan 2:2 (ἐπαυδοί, μάγοι and φάρμακοι), 1Rgns 6:2 (ἱερεῖς, μάντις, ἐπαυδοί). Only Daniel refers to μάγοι, and Jannes and Jambres are specifically so called in the Michigan papyrus. The association of σοφοί with μάγοι is found in DanLXX 2:10, DanTheod 2:27, 5:15 (cf. also DanTheod 5:7 where σοφοί includes a variety of groups), but the terms do not appear together in the NT. For μάγος in association with other terms see DanTheod 1:20, 2:10, 4:4, 5:7, 11. The related appellations are ἐπαυδοί, Χαλδαῖοι, γαζαρηνοί, the last named representing Aramaic ܡܕܝܢܐ, a class of astrologers or haruspices. In the NT μάγος with the sense of "astrologer" appears in Mt 2:1-12, and Acts 13:4-12 so labels a certain Jew, Elymas or Bar-Jesus, whom Paul and Barnabas encounter in Salamis (Cyprus). Verse 6 calls him as well a ψευδοπροφήτης. Though Simon Magus of Acts 8:9-24 is not as such called a μάγος, his craft is described as μαγεία (11) and he is said to "practise magic" (μαγεύω [9]). If μάγους is the correct reading for our text, it will have to mean, in the first instance, magicians other than their chiefs, Jannes and Jambres.

4 ἡμέρας ἐπτά. The only reference to such an interval within the biblical exodus account is Ex 7:25 where, however, it is the interval between the first and second plague. Elsewhere in the account we hear of a specific number of days only in 10:22 where the darkness is said to have lasted three days. To construe "seven" as referring to the number of officials summoned is not impossible but improbable, especially since Jannes rather than the king is evidently the protagonist. Within biblical and related literature we hear of this number of royal advisors only in reference to the Persian court in Esth 1:10 (and 14 in Hebrew), 1Esdr 8:11, and 2Esdr 7:14. Hence

it has a basis in Iranian reality. We know of no instance in which this number is made to apply to the Egyptian court. Furthermore, since what appears before ἐπτὰ is apparently a sigma, numerals formed with seven are rendered unlikely. For another seven-day period see 3a + → 1-2, and for one of eight days see 1cd + → 13. No doubt our (Jewish) author here simply thought of a week as a logical and convenient unit of time.

περιποιεῖται. An allusion to Ex 22:18 is not improbable: φαρμάκους οὐ περιποιήσετε. The size of the lacuna suggests med-pass (amply attested in the LXX) rather than act; supplying an overt object would create serious problems.

5 ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ. For the same phrase see 2a↓ 12.

6 τὴν φυτεῖαν. The use of the article is probably anaphoric; hence the φυτεῖα has already been introduced into the narrative, prior to the arrival of the wise men and magicians. This would be underscored, furthermore, by preceding καὶ αὐτοὶ. The image of a shade-producing shelter is reminiscent of Ezek 31:6, Dan 4:12, Jonah 4:6 and Mk 4:32, though none of these uses φυτεῖα. In the first two passages, as well as in the case of the cypress-tree in 1cd + of our text, the tree symbolizes an individual or state, Nebuchadnezzar and Babylon in Dan 4, Pharaoh and Egypt in Ezek 31, and Jannes(?) and Egypt in 1cd + . There is here, however, no suggestion that the φυτεῖα is seen in a dream (cf. 1cd + →) or a vision (cf. Dan 4). Rather, it is as real as the cypress-tree cut down by the angel in the magicians' paradise (1cd + ↓) and viewed by the men Jannes summons to his estate. The precise meaning of φυτεῖα is not immediately obvious. Since its normal meaning is "planting" (cf. 4Rgns 19:29, Ezek 17:7, Micah 1:6, PsSol 14:4, Mt 15:13 along with non-biblical references in AGD and LSJ), we should perhaps assume the same meaning here, rather than attempt to make it an individual tree/plant. The latter interpretation would, furthermore, create a curious disjointedness in the narrative: the φυτεῖα is described as having formed an εἶλαρ, but the men are told to seat themselves not under the εἶλαρ of the φυτεῖα but under an apple-tree; yet it is the εἶλαρ of the φυτεῖα that is struck by the storm, not the apple-tree under which the men are seated. If, on the other hand, φυτεῖα is taken to refer to Jannes' "planting," namely, the paradise (hence the anaphoric article), εἶλαρ would denote the canopy formed by the foliage of the trees collectively, including the apple-tree. (see Achilles Tatius 1.15 for such intertwining foliage in a παράδεισος.) It is this canopy then with which the storm wreaks havoc, rather

than striking a single tree. 7 εἶλαρος. The word is Homeric (Il. 7.338, 437, 14.56, 68, Od. 5.257) and consequently is repeated by commentators on Homer such as Eustathius. (Cf. also the editor's reconstruction in the LCL edition of Philo *On Drunkenness* 201; his reference to Homer should read vii 338.) Yet the reading is assured, since no amount of phonetic juggling yields any acceptable sense and the word appears to be repeated on line 13. In the Iliad εἶλαρ is a protection, in the form of a fortress, against the enemies of the Greeks, while in the Odyssey it is a fence for protection against the waves, made of willow twigs covered with brush. In our passage the meaning is clearly more akin to the latter than to the former. As suggested, εἶλαρ in our text is likely the shelter against the sun's rays, formed by the branches of the trees in the magicians' paradise. Its grammatical function is not immediately obvious but must be determined by a post-positive preposition such as χάριν; ἔνεκεν/ ἔνεκα would also be suitable but is somewhat long for the lacuna, especially since this seems to be followed by some adjective describing, one surmises, Jannes' state of pride and elation at his accomplishment.

9 μηλέαν The identity of this tree is not entirely beyond doubt. According to LSJ the term is attested for apple, quince, apricot, citron and peach, though for the last three a qualifying epithet is standard. In Greek literature μῆλον, the fruit of a μηλέα, can refer, when unaccompanied by further identification, to either apple or quince (see PW 2:3). Within biblical literature μηλέα occurs only in Symmachus' version of Song 8:5 as a translation for Hebrew תַּפְּחִי, which is commonly identified as the apple-tree (*Malus sylvestris*) or its fruit (cf. M. Zohary, *Plants of the Bible* p. 70; but see also J. C. Trever in IDB). In the LXX תַּפְּחִי is consistently translated by μῆλον without qualifying epithet (Prov 25:11, Song 2:3, 5, 7:9, 8:5, Joel 1:12). Our reference to a μηλέα = apple-tree raises some interesting questions, since the apple-tree, though conspicuous in the Black Sea area and northern Media (Strabo 11.13.11 and 12.3.15) and well-known in Greece (Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants* mentions several varieties), was scarcely prominent in either Palestine or Egypt. Consequently, the choice of an apple-tree by an author in either country would hardly be an obvious one. Why then did the author of *Jannes and Jambres* choose the μηλέα for his story? One possibility to be entertained is that the apple-tree had certain well-known associations with a pagan cult. Thus, for instance, Theocritus (2, 120) sang of "Dionysus' own apples" and Athenaeus

(3.82.d), in comment on this line, writes that “apples as well as other fruit were discovered by Dionysus.” Indeed, according to Martin Nilsson, Dionysus “was the guardian of gardens and their fruits, and his image was commonly set up in gardens” (*The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age* p. 101). Moreover, Pausanias (5.19.6 [= Elis I]) describes a cedar chest, in a temple of Hera at Elis, on which was depicted *inter alia* a scene with Dionysus surrounded by vines, apple-trees and pomegranate-trees, and Clement of Alexandria (*Protrepticus* 2, 15P) mentions apples as playing a role in the cult of Dionysus. The lack of prominence, however, given to the apple, in Greek and Latin literature, as the symbol of Dionysus makes any association with his cult in our book precarious, even though 3Mac 2:29 and 2Mac 6:7 would render Jewish polemic against it understandable. Furthermore, it is of interest that according to the Michigan papyrus our magicians were connected with the Apis cult (and perhaps Sarapis as well [see 1ef→ 4]), which in turn, via Osiris and Sarapis, had an association with Dionysus (cf. JerLXX 26:15 for a polemic against Apis). But as is well known, the symbols of Dionysus were the grape and the ivy rather than the apple. Perhaps more likely than a Dionysiac connection in *Jannes and Jambres* is that the apple-tree is a reflection of the tree of knowledge of good and evil in paradise. The latter’s identification as an apple-tree, well-known from Jewish literature, may be as early as Aquila’s reading of Song 8:5 (see Field 2 p. 423), in accordance with which human corruption commenced under this tree. An apple-tree with a similar or opposite role in the magicians’ counter-paradise could be considered appropriate. Its immediate function would seem to be to provide a setting for divination, hence the acquisition of supra-human knowledge (see *Notes* on 1ef↓). For further discussion of the apple-tree see *Notes* on 5a + →.

12 τινὰς. A word of 4-5 letters is wanted in addition. Since the portent would seem to signify the death of some of Egypt’s chiefs, perhaps μέγλους is the most obvious choice. One hesitates, however, because it is rather long for the available space and would need to protrude circa 4 letters into the margin.

14 βιβλιοθήκην. Since the scene is Jannes’ private estate, as we have suggested, the reference here cannot be to the famous library of Alexandria, as is frequently the case in Greek literature, but must be to a private repository of important documents. The existence of a library clearly marks the magicians’ residence as more than a private home pure and simple. The word occurs three

times in LXX, 2Esdr 6:1, Esth 2:23, 2Mac 2:13 but not in NT.

15 δυνάμεις. It is evident from reading the magical papyri that a person practising the art of magic would in all probability have a number of standard tools, including knife, engraving tool, pen, inks, writing surfaces, as well as a variety of ceramic vessels. In addition to these, he made use of a wide range of materials, from plant juices, bull semen and monkey tears to various kinds of wood as well as animals and humans, including what these produce. In short, virtually any imaginable object or substance might at some time be necessary for use; consequently, no magician could be expected to have a complete stock. It is perhaps the more or less standard items or tools that are meant by τὰ σκεύη of the magicians (πλεῖστοι . . . τῶν μάγων παρ' ἑαυτοῖς τὰ σκεύη βαστάξαντες. . . PGM IV 2082, cf. 2110). Chief among the magician's tools was doubtless his book or books which would contain prayers, spells, incantations, recipes and other prescriptions as well as the formulaic mumbo jumbo of the profession, though his dependence on such written documents would no doubt vary in direct proportion to his experience. Preisendanz's collection of magical papyri gives us a good idea of the detail such a book included. Indeed, several times in that corpus the reader is specifically told that certain portions of text had been excerpted from "sacred books" (cf. III 424, 483, VII 863, XIII 231, XXIVa 2). Since, however, the present scene is the magicians' estate rather than Memphis, δυνάμεις cannot be equated with the document which was in Jannes' unique possession and kept in Memphis. As we will see presently (4a + →), Jannes takes his brother there in order to entrust him with this document, thereby appointing him his successor. Consequently, either the δυνάμεις here mentioned or the document on deposit in Memphis, but scarcely both, may be the book of magic (see further *Notes* on 4a + →). Though Jannes' name is not encountered in Preisendanz, Moses does appear a number of times. In fact in a Leiden papyrus of iv AD (= PGM XIII) no fewer than five books of magic are attributed to him. That δυνάμεις in our text refers to Jannes' tools and not to the magician's *Zauberkraft*, a sense it often has in the magical texts, is obvious from the context. 15 αὐ-. No doubt to be read as αὐτοῦ, but sufficient space for the entire word is lacking.

TRANSCRIBED TEXT

Frame 2 ↓ a-g

a

1
2 σεπηλθε
3 εδυμενους
4 υ δυοεχοντα
5 γτιωσεστιδ νπα
6 τηενευ αααυτωκαιλε
7 σοκοδτηεγησκαεπισκοπο
8 ωνεπεμψενημααπαγινσεε
9 λοιπονκοινωνοενεκρωγ
10 στοναιωνα·επισπλανχρισ
11 δυολευκοφορουντεσεφασα
12 εταιειεντω κωαυτ λα
13 δεκατεσσαρας μετ τα

	b	c	d	e	f	g
1	νεα	καιευ ω	πενδε	ν	ς για	λο
2	τηνωρ	ουσανγιγ	μιογα	πικ	σημιοντ	ο
3	γτο	εκελευ		να	ηκαιγυπτου	οβα
4				να	στηνβι	η
5				τοαι		

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

Frame 2a↓

c. 7 lines lost

-]. [.....
]. ζ ἐπῆλθε[ν καὶ εἶδεν δύο ἀνθρώπ-
 ους ἐνδ]εδυμένους [..... καὶ
 δὲ ἄλλο]υ[ς] δύο ἔχοντα[ς.....
 5 ἐνα]γτίως· ἐστὶ δ[ἐ.....]. νῆα. [
] τῆς νευ.. ας αὐτῷ καὶ λέ[γ-
 οντε]ς· Ὁ κ(ύρι)ος τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπίσκοπο[ς τῶν
 πάντ]ων ἐπεμψεν ἡμᾶς ἀπάγιν σε ε[ἰς ἕδ-
 ου καὶ] λοιπὸν κοινωνὸς νεκρῶν [γενή-
 10 ση εἰ]ς τὸν αἰῶνα· ἐπισπλανχισ[άμενοι
 δὲ οἱ] δύο λευκοφοροῦντες ἔφασα[ν αὐ-
 τοῖς· Ἔ]σται ἔτι ἐν τῷ [οἷ]κῳ αὐτ[οῦ..]λα[...
 ..] δεκατέσσαρας [καὶ] μετ[έπει]τα.. [
 bottom of page

8 rd απαγειν 10 rd επισπλαγχ.

- ...
 ... he came and saw two persons
 clothed in... and
 another two having...
 5 ... opposite (him). But...
 ... to him and saying,
 “The Lord of the earth and (the) Overseer of
 all has sent us to lead you away to Hades;
 and further, you will be a companion of corpses
 10 for ever.” But having taken pity on him
 the two clad in white said to them, “He
 shall yet be in his house for fourteen
 ... and afterwards....”

Notes:

After the concluding line of 2a→ the reader expects Jannes to engage

in magic in order to ascertain the meaning of what has just happened to the canopy of the paradise. He may further surmise that “some . . . branches” which were broken off the shelter represent Egyptians in positions of power and prominence, no doubt including Jannes and the king. At least two fragments in this frame, d and f, can be made to support such an interpretation and in that case must have preceded fragment a. Frag f speaks of a *σημ(ε)ιον*, mentions *τῆς Αἰγύπτου* (cf. *ὁ βασιλεὺς* [?] of g) and apparently reads *εἰς τὴν βιβλιοθήκην*. Similarly, d line 2 may refer to a *σημ(ε)ιον*. Consequently, one may further surmise that on these fragments reference is being made to the broken branches as a sign of the destruction awaiting Egypt. The mention of the library is à propos, since the heavenly emissaries will have entered it in order to confront Jannes. Since 7 or possibly 8 lines must have preceded 2a, all of fragments b-g may belong in that lacuna, though their arrangement cannot be determined with any degree of confidence. Fragment h, on the other hand, with its first person lament by Jannes about his physical condition, which would be out place in the present context, evidently belongs to a later stage in the narrative. **2 ἀνθρώπους.**

Since *ἄνδρας* is too short, this appears to be our best option, even though we have to assume that the word was not contracted in this instance (see above I.9). Alternatively, we might add some modifier.

2-3 δύο ἀνθρώπους ἐνδεδυσμένους. We have assumed that the individuals mentioned are identical with the two of line 11, but are distinct from the pair we meet in line 4, who evidently recite to Jannes the message of doom. If the number of envoys were two (instead of four), it would be difficult to understand why they would suddenly change their mind, feel pity for Jannes and grant him a reprieve, or why a discrete subject of *ἔφασαν* would be introduced, following direct speech. Moreover, the repetition of *δύο* suggests two pairs rather than a single group of four. Consequently, the phrase under discussion was probably followed by *στολὰς λευκάς* or some such phrase. Furthermore, since “wearing-white” in line 11 is an identifying epithet, the other pair must not have been so clothed.

4-5 ἔχοντας . . . ἐναντίως. It is likely that we are being told with what the second pair of men was equipped and that they took their stand (*ἐστῶτας* ?) opposite Jannes. **6 τῆς νευ-**

What to read here is problematic. The word in question needs to begin with *νε* and end in *ας* with three or four letters in between. If we read *υ* as the third letter, the only option seems to be *νευρέας*

(variant of νευρᾶς, cf. JudgB 16:7, 9; the longer form would have to be read *spatii causa*.—unless a poor patch of papyrus occasioned extra space). In that case, we would have a reference to a thong with which Jannes was presumably to be led off. Following αὐτῷ might then mean that, before giving him their message in verbal form, the men introduce it by showing Jannes the thong. The preceding article would likely be anaphoric, presupposing perhaps νευρέαν ἐν χερσὶν in line 4. If on the other hand we read κ instead of υ (cf., e.g., λευκοφοροῦντες in line 11 = Plate 3 Frag a), some derivative of νέκυσ is not unlikely, but no obvious choice presents itself. Lines 4-6 of our text bear some resemblance to 3Mac 6:18-19 where we are told that two angels descended from heaven, placed themselves opposite (ἀντέστησαν) Ptolemy's soldiers (who are ready to destroy the Jews in the hippodrome), and tied them up with "immovable fetters" (ἀκινήτοις . . . πέδαις). 7 ὁ κύριος τῆς γῆς. Though the sovereignty of Israel's God over the earth (or land) is a common biblical concept, the exact phrase we have here is attested only for Joseph in Gen 42:30. As a divine epithet its closest approximation in LXX and NT is ὁ κύριος πάσης τῆς γῆς in Ex 8:22, Ps 96:5 (κυρίου -), Micah 4:13, Zech 4:14, 6:5 (cf. also Ex 9:29; Jdt 2:5 and 6:4 where ὁ κύριος πάσης τῆς γῆς refers to Nebuchadnezzar; as well as the longer ὁ κύριος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς in Tob 10:13^{GI}).

ἐπίσκοπος. As an appellation for God this word is more at home in Classical Greek than in biblical literature, where it occurs but twice in LXX (Job 20:29 // κύριος; WisSol 1:6) and once in NT (1Pet 2:25). See further 1Clem 59:3, IgnMagn 3:1, SibOr frag 1.3 as well as πανεπίσκοπος in SibOr 1.152, 2.177, 5.353 (Geffcken). Not unexpectedly ἐπίσκοπος as a divine epithet also appears in the magical papyri (cf. PGM IV 2317, 2721, XXIII 1). However, ἐπισκοπή, "visitation," as well as related verbal forms, both with a positive and negative sense, is common in both LXX and NT, with the result that the concept here expressed is thoroughly at home in biblical literature.

τῶν πάντων. How one reconstructs the text depends in part on how one understands the parallelism in this line. If "earth/land" is paralleled by "universe" the most likely reconstruction is τῶν ὅλων, τῶν πάντων or the like. "Earth/land" // "people" would, however, be a more likely parallelism, since ἐπίσκοπος (like ἐπισκοπή) would seem to reflect primarily a relationship to humankind. However, ἀνθρώπων is not a realistic choice since the overlining for ἀνθῶν should in that case be visible (but see

I.9 above for possibly uncontracted instances). Also relevant here might be ὁ πάντων ἐπόπτης (θεός) of LetAris 16, Esth 5:1a, 3Mac 2:21, and ὁ παντ' ἐφορῶν of SibOr frag 3.42. Happily, our reconstruction can be understood to embrace both "people" and "universe." The entire phrase "the Lord of the earth/land and the Overseer of all" may well denote that the author of our book wishes to deny such elevated status to Egypt's king, who, like Nebuchadnezzar in Judith, may have laid claim to it. 8 εἰς ᾗδου. The

meaning of Hades, if correctly reconstructed here, is that of a place of punishment; hence "the dead" are the damned rather than simply the deceased.

10 ἐπισπλαγχνισάμενοι. The compound form of this verb is extremely rare. It occurs once in LXX, Prov 17:5, supplemented by Symmachus' version of Deut 13:8. Lampe cites only ClemAlex frag 12, but TLG also supplies Palladius *Hist. Laus.* 44, 4, 4 (though Sym. and Clem. are absent). The simplex form, however, is well attested in both LXX and NT. As our fragmentary text now stands, the pity on the part of the two emissaries appears unmotivated. It may be, however, that Jannes' physical condition evokes their response, since at this stage in the narrative he may already have been struck with his fatal disease. The larger literary function of the reprieve is nonetheless obvious: like the three-year interval of 1cd + ↓ 11, it highlights Jannes' obduracy.

11 δύο (cf. also line 4). Heavenly emissaries in pairs are met with in a number of biblical passages: Dan 12:5, 2Mac 3:26, 3Mac 6:18, Lk 24:4, Jn 20:12, Acts 1:10. Cf. also PsPhil 64:6 where two angels lead Samuel from the realm of the dead. For heavenly messengers clad in white see 2Mac 11:8, 1En 87:2, TLevi 8:2, Jn 20:12, Mt 28:3, Mk 16:5, Acts 1:10.

λευκοφοροῦντες. This verb, which occurs in neither LXX nor NT, is rare in Greek literature. The earlier (of two) references in LSJ dates from ii AD, and in the literature covered by Lampe the earliest (of four) occurrences is in the Acts of John (38) which is dated ii/iii AD. It is perhaps not without interest that Lampe's references include *Historia Monachorum* (8, 18), a work we had occasion to cite at length on the Macarius tale (see *Notes* on 1cd + ↓). The adjective from which the verb derives (λευκοφόρος) is equally rare.

11-12 αὐτοῖς. Alternatively, ὁ Ἰάννης.

13 δεκατέσσαρας. Though one might like to read what precedes as ἡ]μ[έ-/ρας, what is visible near the end of line 12 will not permit it. Possibly, therefore, we have ἅλ]λα[ς with "days" understood rather than expressed—though that leaves us with a

four-letter lacuna—or, perhaps better, ἄλλας ἡμέ-/ρας, though this is too long by 2 or 3 letters. If the reprieve is indeed 14 days, as seems likely, we are forced to conclude that all the action between this point and Jannes' death on 5a + ↓ took place within this time-span, perhaps including a seven-day wedding (cf. 3a + →). One may well ask what inspired our author to portray his fourteen-day reprieve. Possibly, it derives from a comparison of Ex 11:4 and 12:29. What intervenes between these verses includes the institution of Passover and the concomitant re-ordering of the calendar, making Nisan into the first month of the year. The starting date in 12:2 is presumably earlier than Nisan 10 (cf. vs. 3) and could have been thought of as the first of that month. Read as a continuous narrative, it is not difficult to see that the midnight of 11:4 and the midnight of 12:29 might be thought of as being fourteen days apart. Such an interpretation might be further enhanced by the fact that neither MT nor LXX has an identical text in these two passages: 11:4 כַּחֲצִי הַלַּיְלָה—περὶ μέσας νύκτας, 12:29 בַּחֲצִי הַלַּיְלָה—μεσούσης τῆς νυκτός. It is further possible that a haggadist might be influenced by the plural expression in 11:4LXX, which, though a good Greek idiom for “midnight,” is a lone occurrence in LXX. In order to bridge the apparent gap between Moses' announcement to Pharaoh (and no doubt his court) in 11:4-8 of the final and most terrible plague and the execution of that plague in 12:29, our author may have invented the reprieve granted to Jannes. As the apparently elder of two brothers he too could be included among the fateful first-born of Egypt; however, as will be argued later, Jannes apparently survived the king and therefore was not a victim of the tenth plague. Also possible is that “fourteen” was inspired by the book of Esther, in which the fourteenth (of Adar) was designated as the day of destruction for the Jews under Persian rule, but which turned out to be the removal of their enemies instead, including the hated Haman. In similar vein, according to 3Mac 6:40 it is on the fourteenth (of Epiphi) that the Jews submit their request to King Ptolemy for leave to depart from Alexandria. Units of time other than “days” are of course possible but readings such as ἑβδομάδας or μῆνας are no easier to accommodate in our text.

TRANSCRIBED TEXT

Frame 3 → a-f, i-q

	a	b	c	d
1	προςγαμονκαιτουςγ		επτ	χ
2	ρασεπτασυνευφ	λιν	αδελφωα	δ
3	ανδρεαδελφοιμετα	εκαλε	τωντε	
4	χωριζομαιεβραιων		καιμη	
5	τελε αντοσδ		γδεαυτ	
6	εσβισπαρησαν			
7	γοντεταχιονελθ	e	f	i
8	μωσητωεβραιωπο	1 ποιωσ	ουεν	ανοϊα
9	ωστεπανταθαυμαζ	2 ηταιηδ	εκφ	υμιτ
10	αννηςπροστονβας	3 χη ερ		
11	ταθημωωσηκαιτω			
12	οιωνοσακακινοιε	j	k	l
13	θανατοσαυτουετ	1 θες	λ	ετ
14	ειςτηνεδρανκαιμ	2 χρον	μη	λε
15	πεμπιπροστονβ	3	ης	
16	εστινθουηενεργουσα			
17	διοεγωθελωναντιστα			
18	πολυ			
	m	n	o	p
1		στο	γορ	q
2	ωη	uc	ων	ω
				ησαρκι

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

Frame 3ab→

top of page

πρὸς γάμον καὶ τοὺς γ[άμους ἄγομεν ἡμέ-
ρας ἑπτὰ συνευφ[ραίνομενοι πάντες,
ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί· μετὰ [δὲ ταῦτα . . .
χωρίζομαι Ἑβραίω[.

- 5 συν]τελέ[σ]αντος δ[ὲ εἰπόντος ἄρτι αὐτοῦ
πρ]έσβις παρῆσαν [ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως
λέ]γοντες· Τάχιον ἐλθ[ὼν ἀντιστάθητι
τῷ] Μωσῇ τῷ Ἑβραίῳ πο[ιοῦντι σημεῖα
ᾧ]στε πάντα θαυμάζ[ειν· ἐγενήθη δὲ
10 ὁ Ἰ]άννης πρὸς τὸν βασ[ιλέα καὶ ἀντε-
σ]τάθη Μωωσῇ καὶ τῷ [ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ
π]οιῶν ὅσα κακῆνοι ἐ[ϋ]θέως δὲ ἤκισεν
ὁ] θάνατος αὐτοῦ ἐτ[ι καὶ ἔλκει· ἀπῆλθεν
εἰς τὴν ἔδραν καὶ μ[ετὰ
15 πέμ]πι πρὸς τὸν β[ασιλέα λέγων· Τοῦτ'
ἐστὶν θ(ε)οῦ ἡ ἐνεργοῦσα [δύναμις
διὸ ἐγὼ θέλων ἀντιστα[θῆναι
.]πολυ[.
[.]
20 . . .]λυ[.
παρ]εκάλε[σεν αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν μητέρα
bottom of page

6 rd πρεσβεις 11 rd μωση or μωυση 12 rd
κακεινοι 15 rd πεμπει

in marriage and we celebrated the wedding for
seven days, all of us having a good time together,
men and brothers, but after that . . .

I separated myself from (the) Hebrews”

- 5 And when he had just finished speaking
emissaries from the king arrived who
said, “Come quickly and withstand
Moses the Hebrew who is doing signs

- so that all are amazed.” And Jannes
 10 came to the king and withstood
 Moses and his brother by
 doing whatever they had done. But immediately his fatal
 illness tormented him again with a tumour. So he went
 into the hedra and after . . .
 15 he sent word to the king saying, “This thing
 is God’s active power . . . ;
 therefore I, wanting to oppose . . .
 . . .
 . . .
 20 . . .
 he urged him and his mother

Vienna Frag B 1-13

top of column

- . . . ἀν]τιστάθητι τῷ Μωϋσεῖ τῷ Ἑβραί[ω ποιοῦν-
 τι ση]μεῖα καὶ τέρατα ὥστε πάντ[ας θαυμά-
 ζειν] γενόμενος δ[ὲ πρὸς τὸν
 βασι]λέα ἀντεστάθη τῷ Μωϋσεῖ κ[αὶ τῷ ἄδ-
 5 ελφ]ῷ αὐτοῦ Ἀαρὼν ποιῶν ὅσα κ[ἀκεῖνοι
 εὐθέ]ως δὲ ἤκισεν ὁ θάνατος [αὐτοῦ ἔ-
 τι κ]αὶ ἔλκει πονηρῶ· εἰς τὴν [ἔδραν
 ἦλθε]ν εὐρίσκων χιάζειν· π[έμπει δὲ
 πρὸς τ]ὸν βασιλέα λέγω[ν]· Τοῦτ[ο δύναμις
 10 θεοῦ] ἐστίν, οὐ δύνομαι πρ[άξαι οὐδὲν . . .
 . . .]. μὴ εἰς θάνατον εκ[.
 δὲ ὁ] Ἰωάννης τὸν ἀδελ[φὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰωάμ-
 βρην] παρεκάλεσεν αὐτὸν [καὶ τὴν μητέ-

. . . withstand Moses the Hebrew who is doing
 signs and wonders so that all are amazed.

And when he had come to the
 king, he withstood Moses and his

- 5 brother Aaron by doing whatever they had done.
 But immediately his fatal illness tormented him
 again with a serious tumour. Into the hedra
 he went trying to find a way to get rid of it.
 Then he sent word to the king saying, “This is

10 the power of God; I am not able to accomplish anything
 (except what is?) not unto death. . . .”
 Now when Jannes (met?) his brother Jambres
 he urged him and his mo(ther)

Notes:

That the correct order of 3a is → ↓ is demonstrated both by the binding holes (in the margins between lines 1 and 2 and opposite line 18 on both sides of the central fold) and the Vienna papyrus. Much less certain is whether 3a should precede or follow 2a. As can be seen from the numbering we have assigned, we have opted for the latter order, albeit with some misgivings. A number of important considerations may be delineated. 1. Obviously, there is no continuation of the narrative from 2a↓ on to 3a→. One may, therefore, be tempted to place 3a somewhere else, notably perhaps after 1ef↓ which, as we have argued, gives us a discussion between Jannes and Jambres on the institution of marriage. Similarly, 3a→ speaks of marriage—but there the similarity seems to end. No continuation of the story is in evidence. Whereas at the close of 1ef↓ Jannes is addressing his brother on the subject of a wife’s leaving her spouse for another man, on 3a→, where he again seems to be speaking, he is addressing a group of adherents, telling them evidently about a specific wedding he attended. Consequently, any connection between the two pieces is more apparent than real. Indeed, one searches in vain elsewhere for a better placement of 3a→. 2. Much hinges on the length of the reprieve Jannes is allotted on 2a↓. If the period is fourteen days, as we have suggested, the entire narrative from that point until Jannes’ death on 5a + ↓ must be slotted into the space of two weeks, including perhaps the seven-day wedding of 3a→. Moreover, is it feasible that the heavenly emissaries already threaten to take Jannes off to hell (2a↓) before he has had his contest with Moses in Pharaoh’s presence (3a→)? The problem of the seven-day wedding, however, could be solved by suggesting that the wedding need not have been attended immediately prior. In other words, the fourteen-day reprieve need not include the seven-day wedding. The second objection can also be countered. The brief scope given to the magical contest between Moses and Jannes suggests that it did not play as central a role in our book as one might infer on the basis of the biblical story. This surmise is underscored

by the fact that, according to 3a→, Jannes had already been struck with his "death" on some previous occasion. Finally to be remembered is that the length of the reprieve is not beyond reasonable doubt. 3. One hesitates to separate 3a from 4a since their physical shape suggests that, at least immediately prior to discovery, these two leaves lay in proximity to each other. To place both 3a and 4a before 2a is scarcely feasible since on 4a→ Jannes, with death staring him in the face, appoints Jambres his successor and addresses to him what reads like his farewell speech.

Fragment h is absent from the Transcribed Text because it was seen to belong with 1cd + . From a purely physical point of view all the remaining fragments, with the exception of g, can be accommodated on this and the following page. Most of these, however, are excluded on the basis of contents, either by relatively certain reconstructions of fragment a or by the additional lines from the Vienna text. It is not at all unlikely that at least some of them belong with g. Only b has been incorporated with a, since its reading on → can be paralleled at an appropriate point in Vienna B (line 13). It is further not impossible that the last line on c should be aligned with the last line on b to read *παρ]εκάλε[σε]ν δὲ αὐτ[ὸν*, even though this creates a variant from the Vienna text and the rest of the fragment finds no support at all in Vienna B. As will be noted further below, the two texts to some extent go their own separate ways at this point in the story. What has been labeled q is part of the same bifolio as a, but its place in the narrative cannot be determined with certainty. If our reconstruction of the papyrus quire (see I.8) is even approximately correct, q should belong with 5d + or 5a + . It may be noted in this connection that the former shows roughly the same extent of intrusion into the right-hand margin.

1-4 Judging from the vocative in line 3 and the first person verb in 4, these lines should be read as *oratio recta*. The speaker, as suggested by what follows, must be Jannes, and the seven day festival to which reference is made is evidently a wedding. Whose marriage was being celebrated is unknown. In traditions about Moses and the magicians three (or four) marriages are mentioned in one form or another, namely the marriage of Pharaoh's daughter to Chenephres (Artapanus 3), Moses' marriage to the Cushite princess (cf. Ant 2, 253) or to the wife of the king of Cush (cf. ChronM p. 37), and Moses to Zipporah (Ex 2:21). None of these seems to be a likely candidate in the present context. More plausibly perhaps in view of our story, reference is here made to the

wedding of the king of Egypt. A number of considerations and facts may be offered in support of this hypothesis. 1. That Jannes would attend a wedding of his arch-rival seems improbable, if for no other reason than that Moses' marriage to Zipporah, according to extant traditions, took place in Midian, and he married one or other of the Cushite ladies in Cush, at a time when hostilities between Balaam and his sons, Jannes and Jambres, and Moses had already flared up; consequently, whatever relations existed between the two sides previously, when Moses married the Cushite, they were decidedly hostile. 2. No more probable than either of Moses' weddings is the wedding of Pharaoh's daughter since, according to tradition, it preceded Moses' birth, while our text intimates that both Jannes and Moses were present and that Jannes is relating what happened between them on that occasion. Clearly, none of the weddings mentioned in the Moses traditions is a likely candidate for our text, unless, of course, we posit major deviations from what we know. 3. A Pharaonic wedding is plausible, since by common tradition the Pharaoh of the exodus had come to the throne shortly before Moses' return to Egypt, i.e. the beginning of the confrontation *par excellence* (cf. Ant 2, 281). Rabbinic tradition adds that he was 20 years of age at that time and that his name was Adikam. Ascent to the throne and marriage would not implausibly be linked, if the new king did not already have a consort. A royal wedding, moreover, would have provided an appropriate setting for a major contest, not impossibly *the* major contest between the two rival magicians. Indeed we may speculate that it is not unlikely that Moses was present at the wedding, because it was there that he first confronted the king with the divine demand for Israel's release. It is in any case certain that the confrontation we read about in 3a + → line 5ff. was not the first. From a narrative point of view it would be appropriate that the three parties in question, the king, Jannes and Moses, would have been mentioned in the preceding lines. 4. Lastly, we may call attention to the book of Esther, another tale featuring a power struggle between two individuals at a royal court, Mordechai the Jew and Haman the king's favourite. Included in the Greek version of the story are two royal weddings (1:5 to Astin [in the third year of the king's reign] and 2:18 to Esther). 1 πρὸς γάμον. This phrase is regularly found with verbs such as λαμβάνω/δίδωμι. Hence it must here refer to the marriage *per se*, whereas the following τοὺς γάμους denotes the accompanying festivities. For such a distinction

see, e.g., Achilles Tatius 2.11.1-2 (cf. EsthLXX 2:18). Jannes' apparent involvement in the festivities does not necessarily translate into an approval of marriage as an institution (cf. 1ef↓).

ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ. For seven day weddings in biblical literature see Gen 29:27, Judg 14:12, 17, Esth 1:5, 10, 2:18LXX, Tob 11:19(G^I), JosAsen 21:6-7 and further Tob 8:14. 2 συνευ-

φραινόμενοι. The compound form of this verb occurs only in Prov 5:18 and EBar 2:3 of the biblical corpus and beyond that some seventeen times in literature stretching from iv BC. 3 ἄνδρες

ἀδελφοί. Interestingly, this phrase, though typical of Acts, is of rather limited and virtually exclusively Christian usage: 4Mac 8:19, Acts 1:16, 2:29, 37, 7:2 (cf. 26), 13:15, 26, 38, 15:7, 13, 22:1, 23:1, 6, 28:17, 1Clem 14:1, 37:1, 43:4, 62:1, ActsJn 1:88, GrNaz *Orat* 14, 1, Epiph *Panarion* (GCS 31 p. 352). Who are being addressed by Jannes is not explicitly stated but may be inferred. Since Jannes' friends appear later in the story (cf. 4a + → 17, 5a + ↓ 3), we may reasonably assume that he is reporting to them here (cf. Haman in Esth 6:13). More particularly, the friends are no doubt adherents. If, however, as we have suggested, Jannes is relating some contest with Moses at the royal wedding, one may wonder why his adherents would have been absent from such a public event. 4 χωρίζομαι

Ἑβραίων. The text here is problematic. If the reading of Ἑβραίων is correct (see line 8, Plate 5 Frag a, for palaeographic comparison) the entire phrase must denote an act of separation on Jannes' part. In the light of 1ef↓ it is intriguing that χωρίζω is often used for divorce (see AGD s.v. 2), but it would be difficult to discern such a meaning here. We are, furthermore, not certain whether or not the word carried a prefix. Nevertheless, a following genitive must surely spell separation of some description. We might further surmise that the names of the Hebrews, Moses and Aaron, may have filled out the remainder of line 4. The spacing for this would, in any case, be approximately correct. The precise reason for Jannes' decision to distance himself from his opponents is not now given in our text. That he was motivated by fear seems improbable. In view of the fact that he equals Moses' feats in the ensuing episode in our text, it seems certain that he did not lose whatever contest took place at the wedding, though he did contract a fatal illness at some stage of operations (see below line 13). Furthermore, he asserts that he opposed Moses *because* the latter was endowed with divine power (line 17). As a result, more likely than being motivated by fear, his

action may have been fueled by contempt. However, (as a good story would have it) no sooner had he written off Moses and his brother than he was summoned to a new engagement with the Hebrews.

6 παρήσαν. Since the messengers from the palace come to fetch Jannes, it is likely that the setting of his address to his adherents is the magicians' estate near Memphis, the same setting we have postulated for 2a → ↓.

7 ἐλθὼν κτλ. Also possible is ἐλθὲ καὶ ἀντιστάθῃ-/τι Μωσῇ, but since Vienna B line 1 articulates the name, we have felt constrained to do so as well. The same procedure has been followed wherever both Beatty and Vienna are extant.

8 σημεῖα. For the reading of the Vienna papyrus see above. Which member of the common pair, σημεῖα and τέρατα, is to be filled in here is uncertain. Together they would overload the line. Four times in the biblical exodus account (Ex 7:3, 9, 11:9, 10) this pair occurs; nine times σημεῖον alone (Ex 4:8, 9, 17, 28, 30, 8:23, 10:1, 2) is used, and once (Ex 4:21) τέρας appears. Not unlikely the Vienna reading is a secondary expansion. One suspects that σημεῖα is the older text. However, since the word is put in the mouth of the emissaries from the palace, perhaps τέρατα would be more appropriate.

9, 10 ἐγενήθη δὲ . . . καὶ ἀντεστάθῃ. Since the size of the lacuna in 10 demands καὶ and since a finite verb in 9 has a slight preference over the participle, the reading of Vienna B 3-4 has been adjusted accordingly. Since Gignac (2 p. 344) does not list *ἐγενάτο, the (1st aor) passive has been selected instead, in order to reflect the 1st aor participle of Vienna B.

11 τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ. Philo in his account of the plagues in *Vita Mosis* 1, 91-146 regularly refers to Moses' brother without naming him. The Vienna text adds his name but this may well be an accommodation to the biblical story. In our story both Aaron and Jambres clearly play second fiddle to Moses and Jannes respectively.

12 ἥκισεν. This reading is assured by the Vienna text. Though the verb could possibly signal the onset of Jannes' illness, such an interpretation fails to convince here. If Jannes suffers from some form of leprosy (as will become clear increasingly), it may be that αἰκίζω indicates a temporary attack characteristic of this disease. According to LTP,

Leprosy . . . could be roughly likened to a peat fire, which keeps smouldering for a long time, but flares up in a sudden flame when conditions are favourable to its aggravation. The exact nature of these conditions is not clearly understood, but pregnancy, surgical operation, or an emotional disturbance tends to precipitate them. (p. 145).

In similar vein Aretaeus, a medical writer of ii AD, comments that the disease does not immediately show itself:

... but lurking among the bowels, like a concealed fire it smolders there, and having prevailed over the internal parts, it afterwards blazes forth on the surface, for the most part beginning, like a bad signal-fire, on the face, as it were its watch-tower. (126, 368).

On the other hand, the presence of ἑλκος (line 13), seemingly in both texts, may suggest that the disease has reached the stage of ulceration (cf. LTP p. 266). Whatever the particulars, a worsening of Jannes' condition, whether temporary or permanent, rather than the beginning of his ailment, is entirely feasible and probably indicated by the verb used. Perhaps equally important at the present stage is the anaphoric use of the article in the following phrase, ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ, which suggests either that the reader is thought to be already familiar with the sequel of our story or else that he has read about Jannes' malady on a previous occasion in the book. The latter seems more likely. Additional support for this interpretation is furnished by ἔτι καὶ, a reasonably assured reading based on the mutually complementary witness of the Beatty and Vienna texts. In summary, then, the entire statement about Jannes' fatal affliction lends support to our suggested altercation on (a) previous occasion(s).

13 θάνατος. Twice in the biblical exodus account (Ex 9:3, 15) and frequently elsewhere in LXX this word refers not to instantaneous physical death but to a fatal condition. That no instantaneous death is intended here is obvious from the context, even though both the Vienna and Beatty texts are fragmentary and present some problems of reconstruction. As has already been suggested and as will be delineated more fully later, Jannes is portrayed by our author as suffering from leprosy. (For a good historical survey of this disease see M. D. Grmek, *Diseases* chapter 6.) In this connection, however, it might be objected that leprosy is a chronic disease which typically lasts many years or even decades. In fact modern medical opinion has it that true leprosy (i.e. Hansen's disease) is not *per se* fatal (see LTP p. 178), and ancient writers regarded it as a slow and cruel killer. Thus Aretaeus wrote,

... from the disease there is no escape, for it originates in a deadly cause (125, 368)... the ailment does not prove fatal so as to lead the patient from a foul life (βίου αἰσχροῦ) and dreadful sufferings, until he has been divided limb from limb. For it is long-lived, like the animal, the elephant. (128, 372).

It is hardly feasible to extend the *agon* between Jannes and Moses over a period of many years or decades (see, however, the reference to a three year interval in 1cd + ↓ 11), the more if Jannes has been given a fourteen-day reprieve (2a↓). Of interest as well is that, according to Num 12:12, a leper—note λεπρώ in LXX vs 10—was regarded as one dead (see also ExR I.34). A further point to be noted here is that Jannes may not in fact have died of leprosy but, rather, may have met a violent end. How then are we to understand θάνατος in this passage? That the writer of our tale thought of Jannes' affliction as fatal is certain but it is probably of less importance than that he presents him as having been stricken with a feared, dreadful and repulsive disease. Writes Aretaeus,

When in such a state, who would not flee;—who would not turn from them, even if a father, a son, or a brother? (128, 372).

Within biblical literature one immediately calls to mind passages such as 2Mac 9, which with glee and satisfaction relates the reputed end of the hated Antiochus Epiphanes, and Acts 12:20-23 which tells of the suitably horrible death of “Herod” Agrippa (cf. also the death of Herod the Great according to Josephus Ant 17, 168-69). In other words, the writer is likely more interested in the psychological impact on the reader than in the physiological outcome of the illness. The statement in its entirety, namely that his θάνατος tormented, (αἰκίζω), him with a ἔλκος is, of course, also reminiscent of the sixth plague as a result of which the magicians were unable to stand up before Moses (Ex 9:11). Josephus here too adds some gruesome details to the biblical account (Ant 2, 304) and similar elaborations are found elsewhere in Jewish literature, for example, ShY 80:27-28 (cf. Ginzberg 2, 354). However, to link our text directly to the Exodus passage presents problems. If Beatty lines 15-16 and Vienna B 9-10 represent Ex 8:19 (εἶπαν . . . οἱ ἑπαῖδοι τῷ Φαραώ· Δάκτυλος θεοῦ ἐστὶν τοῦτο) we are forced to conclude either that our book gives the plagues in an order different from Exodus or that Jannes' ailment was contracted early in the tale of confrontation and may have been a purely personal affliction. We have already suggested the latter, but this need not preclude some link with the sixth plague, since their order as well as interpretation varied widely. Using Exodus as a yardstick we may note that the order of the plagues in Ps 77(78):44-51 is 1, 4, 2, 8, 7, 5, 10 and in Ps 104(105):28-36 9, 1, 2, 4, 3, 7, 8, 10. Pseudo-Philo 10 has the order 1, 2, 4, 7, 5, 8, 3,

9, 10 and Ezekiel the Tragedian 1, 2, 3, 6, 4, 5, 7, 9, 8, 10 with 5 labeled λοιμός and applied to humans. Josephus (Ant 2, 293-314) has them in the order of Exodus but varies in a number of instances as to their nature (3 = φθειρες - lice; 4 = θηρία - wild beasts [cf. Ginzberg 2 p. 343]; 5 = νόσος - disease; the last named is a plague on humans as in the case of Ezekiel). Jubilees 48:5 likewise follows the Exodus account except for reversing 5 and 6. Philo *Moses* 1, 98ff. uses all the biblical terms but discusses them under four headings according to agency. For our text Artapanus' abbreviated list is of the most interest since his order is 1 (reinterpreted), 6, 2, 8, 3, 7, (with earthquakes added) (Frag 3). Hence the plague of body sores (6), caused in Artapanus by "a certain winged creature" (ζῶν τι πτηνόν), which possibly refers to the κυνόμυια of plague 4, occurs early on. Also of interest in his account is that early in Moses' audience with the king a priest who showed contempt for the divine name died in convulsions. Some connection with Jannes cannot be ruled out. A similarly deviant and selective account of the plagues is given by Pseudo-Eustathius (PG 18, 785-88), whose Moses story is clearly based on Artapanus. Similar to Artapanus, he begins by relating that the doors of Moses' prison opened—an earthquake, however, is introduced as the cause. Secondly, he repeats Artapanus' note on the power of the divine name. The plagues account proper, however, he begins with Artapanus' version of plague 7, namely, an earthquake (σεισμὸς μέγας in PsEuth) accompanied by hail. Then follows the flooding of the Nile answered by the priests' creation of snakes and their apparent (!) (δοκῆσει) changing of the river's water. As in Artapanus, a "certain winged creature" produces incurable sores. But Pseudo-Eustathius' list ends with the death of the first-born—which is conspicuous by its absence from Artapanus. Consequently, Pseudo-Eustathius' order may be said to be 7, 1, 6, 10. Yet another version of events appears in the *Palaea historica* (pp. 231-37). As we have already noted, Jannes and Jambres, though being able to change their staffs into snakes, could not repeat the sign of the leprous hand. The text is entirely silent on the question of whether they were able to simulate any of the plagues *per se*. Curiously, the series begins with darkness, omits numbers 5 and 6 (pestilence and boils respectively), but maintains a total of ten by splitting 7 (hail plus thunder and lightning) into a) hail and b) fire, and by dividing 8 (locusts) into a) locusts (ἄκρις) and b) locust larvae (βροῦχος). The author explains that what the former

left, the latter ate. Though only ἀκρίς occurs in the Exodus account, the two terms are used in tandem in the poetic rendition of Egypt's plagues in Ps 104(105):33. There is yet another curiosity in the *Palaea historica*, namely, that the Israelites' complaint to Moses about their worsened lot is placed immediately before the instructions concerning Passover and the subsequent death of the firstborn. The order of plagues in this interesting version may be represented as 9, 1, 2, 3, 4, 7a, 7b, 8a, 8b, 10.

The plague account we have discussed may be represented in tabular form as follows:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Exodus	blood	frogs	gnats	flies	pestil.	boils	hail	locusts	darkn.	death
Ps 77(78)	blood	flies	frogs	locusts	hail	pestil.	death			
Ps 104(105)	darkn.	blood	frogs	flies	gnats	hail	locusts	death		
Ps-Philo	blood	frogs	flies	hail	pestil.	locusts	gnats	darkn.	death	
Ezek. Trag.	blood	frogs	gnats	boils	flies	pestil.	hail	darkn.	locusts	death
Josephus	blood	frogs	lice	beasts	disease	pestil.	hail	darkn.	locusts	death
Jubilees	blood	frogs	gnats	flies	boils	pestil.	hail	darkn.	locusts	death
Philo	blood	frogs	gnats	hail	locusts	darkn.	boils	flies	pestil.	death
Artapanus	blood	boils	frogs	locusts	gnats	hail +				
Ps-Eustath.	hail +	blood	boils	death						
Palhist	darkn.	blood	frogs	gnats	flies	hail	fire	locusts	larvae	death

Quite clearly, neither variation in order from the Exodus account nor deviation in interpretation poses a problem for us. Great liberties were at times taken by individual writers. It is well-nigh certain that Jannes' θάνατος is an individual affliction, but its inspiration may well lie in the sixth plague. Presumably, our book once contained a fuller account than is now in evidence of the moves and counter-moves by both sides. Interestingly, however, Beatty 3a + → (+ Vienna B), though short on detail on what was done during the contest in Pharaoh's presence, states explicitly that Jannes did not suffer defeat but matched Moses' performance. This may be the passage to which Numenius appealed when stating that Jannes and Jambres were able to undo the most powerful of the plagues Moses brought against Egypt (τῶν . . . συμφορῶν, ἃς ὁ Μουσαῖος ἐπῆγε τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ, τὰς νεανικωτάτας αὐτῶν ἐπιλύεσθαι ὥφθησαν δυνατοί. GCS 43, 1 p. 494 [see above I.1]). In our passage, however, it is not a question of "undoing" but of "equaling." That this represented the whole story is, of course, refuted by Jannes' end. ἔλκει. It is difficult to see how πονηρῶ of Vienna B 7 can be accommodated

in our text. We therefore conclude that it was absent and may have entered the Vienna papyrus under influence of Job 2:7. **14** εἰς τὴν ἔδραν. With a physiological sense, this phrase occurs regularly in the Greek medical writers. The general reference of ἔδρα in the LXX is the same, though with two relatively distinct emphases. Whereas in Deut 28:27, 1Rgns 5:3, 9 and 12 it refers to a person's posterior and probably identifies a hemorrhoidal condition (cf. Ps 77[78]:66), twice elsewhere in the story of the capture of the ark by the Philistines, 1Rgns 6:4 and 17, it denotes the physical manifestation of the ailment. Especially the Deuteronomy passage is intriguing for our text: πατάξαι σε κύριος ἐν ἔλκει Αἰγυπτίῳ ἐν ταῖς ἔδραις (Ms B εἰς τὴν ἔδραν). Because of the wide-spread use of our phrase in medical literature and its similarly physiological meaning in the LXX, it is tempting to construe ἔδρα physiologically in our text, the more since the preceding line in both the Beatty and Vienna texts speaks of Jannes' illness. It seems doubtful, however, that such a reading is possible. Unless the phrase indicates Jannes' change in location, the flow of our text becomes problematic. That Jannes sends word to the king must mean that he had left the royal presence. One might further note that εὐρίσκων χιάζειν of the Vienna text would seem to mean that he had left the palace in an effort to rid himself of his ἔλκος. "The hedra" is, therefore, best understood as having reference to an establishment (evidently already known to the reader) where healing could be obtained, i.e. a temple, in all probability, where Jannes as magician-priest tried to effect a cure. Possibly, it was a temple of Apis (in or near Memphis) since, according to the Michigan papyrus, Jannes' grandfather (as it seems) was some kind of functionary of Apis. (It may be noted in passing that Chenephres, Artapanus' Pharaoh who sought to kill Moses, is said to have built a temple for Apis.) The author of our tale may have been inspired by the famous Memphite Serapeum, even though this was a small distance from the city itself. The temple was well-known for its healings since Ptolemaic times, due to Sarapis' identification with Asclepius (cf. ἱασιν in 1ef→ 4). Jannes' efforts in the hedra are in vain and his inference is inescapable. Next in the Beatty papyrus, though not in the Vienna text, we are presumably told how much time he spent in the hedra before informing the king of his findings. A reading of μ[ετὰ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον] would neatly fill the lacuna in line 14. **15-16** τοῦτ'—δύναμις. This turn of phrase is reminiscent especially of 3Mac 4:21 and 5:28 (cf. also 5:12). **15-17.**

As suggested above, these lines may have been inspired by Ex 8:19 and transferred in our story to the confrontation in Pharaoh's presence. Of interest here is that according to the Beatty text (and probably also the Vienna text) Pharaoh's refusal in Ex 8:19 to heed the warning of the magicians, and indeed his continued obstinacy in the face of all signs and admonition throughout the biblical story is in our book transferred to its protagonist Jannes. The king himself has consequently been assigned a relatively minor role. Also worthy of note is Pharaoh's end in the biblical account: death in the Red Sea as fitting recompense for his stubborn refusal to comply. The fate of Jannes bears comparison: beyond forgiveness due to his opposition against better knowledge he ends up in hell. The correspondence between the biblical Pharaoh and Jannes as portrayed in our book is even more in evidence in later Jewish literature, according to which Pharaoh did not perish in the Red Sea but, like Jannes, was brought to an admission of wrong-doing. We cite here Ginzberg's summary:

Only one [of the Egyptians] was spared—Pharaoh himself. When the children of Israel raised their voices to sing a song of praise to God at the shores of the Red Sea, Pharaoh heard it as he was jostled hither and thither by the billows, and he pointed his finger heavenward, and called out: "I believe in Thee, O God! Thou art righteous, and I and My people are wicked, and I acknowledge now that there is no god in the world beside Thee" [cf. Ex 9:27]. Without a moment's delay, Gabriel descended and laid an iron chain about Pharaoh's neck, and holding him securely, he addressed him thus: "Villain! Yesterday thou didst say, 'Who is the Lord that I should hearken to His voice?' and now thou sayest, 'The Lord is righteous.'" With that he let him drop into the depths of the sea, and there he tortured him for fifty days, to make the power of God known to him. At the end of the time he installed him as king of the great city of Nineveh. . . . Pharaoh never died, and never will die. He always stands at the portal of hell, and when the kings of the nations enter, he makes the power of God known to them at once, in these words: "O ye fools! Why have ye not learnt knowledge from me? I denied the Lord God, and He brought ten plagues upon me, sent me to the bottom of the sea, kept me there for fifty days, released me then, and brought me up. Thus I could not but believe in Him." (Ginzberg 3, 29-30).

We do not know the age of the traditions about Pharaoh's paenitentia. The sources cited by Ginzberg include ChronJ 48, 12, completely dependent here on Sefer ha-Yashar (see 81:40-41) according to Schwarzbaum (Gaster p. 57), and the Chronicle of Moses, both of which give the tradition only a few lines and do not delineate

Pharaoh's ultimate fate. In its full-blown form as given by Ginzberg, Pharaoh's paenitentia is the same as that of Jannes: an admission of wrong-doing rather than a repentance that resulted in forgiveness and salvation. Though the precise wording of the Beatty and Vienna texts differs, Jannes' obstinacy is evident from both.

17 ἐγὼ θέλω. Although it is clear throughout our story that Jannes' opposition is intentional and therefore not based on ignorance (as was that of Cyprian of Antioch), here the text has him declare so explicitly, thereby putting him, by his own admission, into the category of the typical biblical fool, i.e. an impious person who acts with intent rather than one who is intellectually deficient. It should, therefore, come as no surprise that 2Tim 3:8-9 labels the magicians' activity ἄνοια. (Thomas O'Loughlin drew my attention to this aspect. See further his "Who is Anselm's Fool?" NS 63.) Moreover, Jannes is evidently fully aware that his ultimate opposition is to God rather than to Moses. Not impossibly, θέλω has here the extended meaning "to take delight in," as it often does in biblical Greek (cf. AGD). Also noteworthy here is emphatic ἐγὼ.

17-21. That the wording of the Vienna and Beatty texts differs in these lines is obvious. It may be, however, that the Beatty text did in fact include what is extant in Vienna B 10-13. The approximately 87 letters from line 10 οὐ δύνομαι (sic) to line 13 (Ἰωάν)βρην inclusive would comprise circa 3 lines in the Beatty text. Since we have determined that the written surface must have measured circa 18.5 cmH (see I.8), it is possible to accommodate the lines in question in our text. If this is correct, it means that the Beatty text had Jannes say explicitly not only that his opposition was deliberate but also that he lacked the power to get the better of Moses or that Jannes was unable to undo his own θάνατος. Whether, in that case, the Vienna text suffered an omission (deliberate or accidental) or that the Beatty text was expanded (to underscore Jannes' willful opposition?), we cannot tell at the present stage of our knowledge. 21 (cf. Vienna 12-13) παρεκάλεσεν κτλ. Since Jannes apparently came to the palace alone, a reference to brother and mother should mean that he has returned home and relates to them what has transpired in Memphis.

Vienna 8 χιάζειν. This word has been taken to mean "to cross out/cancel" (see LSJ for references). In the present context, however, it can scarcely indicate correction of a document (but cf. possibly *Notes* on 4a + → 20 τὴν βίβλον); instead it must mean that Jannes made an attempt to "cancel / get rid of" his afflic-

tion. **Vienna 10-11** οὐ δύνομαι . . . μὴ εἰς θάνατον. At first glance the text seems to mean that Jannes admits impotence against Moses and that he fears for his life should he persist. But on reflection such an interpretation seems questionable, since it would fly in the face of what Jannes is in fact said to have accomplished against Moses (see above Beatty 12 and Vienna 5); furthermore, it would have brought our story to a premature conclusion. What is yet to come makes it unmistakably clear that Jannes' opposition continued unabated, in spite of whatever it is that he admits at the present juncture. Consequently, the text might better be understood to mean that Jannes admits to being unable either to rid himself of his θάνατος or to strike a fatal blow against Moses personally. In the latter case the Greek may have read οὐ δύνομαι πράξαι οὐδὲν πλὴν τοῦ μὴ εἰς θάνατον.

TRANSCRIBED TEXT

Frame 3 ↓ a-f, i-q

	a	b	c	d
1	υπινμγ	ρερ	ταικ	
2	νευσεεντωηματα	μιγης	σκαιολι	
3	σουνπεριχηρηματα	ηδιρι	υαδελφου	ο
4	προσημωνετοιμασον		ραςκαιε	
5	ηενπ τηγεγ		οϊανγ	
6	ωνκαιμημεταυ			
7	ρριςδιδοντωναλλ	e	f	i
8	ονειστοαυριονκαι	1 ηαυ	ωα	ντοστ
9	νταδετηρουμεναετ	2 ζηνα	αας	ελφου
10	ξητασενποιαωρα	3 ηααχολ		
11	αατροςδυσμααηδης	4 ολ θητ		
12	ειπεντοιαυτηγε			
13	λωνκαιδολιωνκαρ	j	k	l
14	τηςωραστουθανατ	1 ρ	υτον	διο
15	θεκαιειδεποσοςγκατα	2 χον	λης	νο
16	λαςκαιειπεναντωουθεν	3 ιοα		νε
17	ςτοα τηγεγ			
	m	o	p	q
1		λου		π
2	υς	τιγα	ος	
3	νθ		ς	

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

Frame 3ab↓

top of page

- αὐτοῦ μὴ αὐτὸν λυπῖν· μὴ[ή]σητι δὲ δι
 ἐκινδύνηυσεν ἐν τῷ ἡματι
]ς οὖν περὶ χρήματα
] πρὸς ἡμῶν ἐτοίμασον
 5].. ἡ ἐν π[άσῃ] τῇ γεν[εᾷ]
]ων καὶ μὴ μεταυ[..
]ροῖς διδόντων ἄλλ. [...
]ον εἰς τὸ αὖριον καὶ [...
]ν· τὰ δὲ τηρούμενα ἐτ[..
 10 ἐ]ξήτασεν ποία ὥρα [ἐ-
 τήρησεν τὰς τοῦ] ἀστρὸς δυσμάς· Ἦδη κ[αὶ
 εἶδον, φησὶν· Ὁ δὲ] εἶπεν· Τοιαύτη γε[νεά
 ἐστιν ψευδῶν χει]λῶν καὶ δολίων καρ[δί-
 ων καὶ λέγει περὶ] τῆς ὥρας τοῦ θανάτ[ου
 15 αὐτῆς· ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Ἐλ]θὲ καὶ εἰδὲ πόσον κατὰ
 καὶ ἀνατο]λὰς καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ οὐθὲν
]στος α[ὕ]τη γεν[εᾶ]...
 [.....]
 [.....]
 20]ρερ[.....
]μνησ[.....
]ηδοῖ. [...
 bottom of page

1 rd λυπειν

8 rd την (αυριον)

15 rd ιδε

not to grieve (over??) him. “But remember that
 ... was endangered by the blood(?)
 ... therefore with regard to money
 ... with/by us prepare
 5 ... in the entire generation/race... other
 ... and do not....”
 ... while they were giving...
 ... for the morning and...

- ... but the things that are being observed. . .
- 10 ... he questioned (him) what hour he had observed the setting of the star; "Just now, I saw (it)," he said. Then the other said, "This indicates a generation of false lips and deceitful hearts and it speaks concerning the hour of its death."
- 15 Then he said, "Come and see how (long) it. . . and the east." And he said to him nothing. . . this is a generation/race. . .
- ...
...
...
- 20 ...
...
...

Vienna Frag B 14-23

- ρα α]ὐτοῦ μὴ αὐτὸν λυπ[εῖν μνήσθητι
- 15 δὲ ὅ]τι ἐκινδύνευσεν [ἐν τῷ αἵματι
...]αι ὑπ' αὐτῆς μὴ α[..... οὖν
περὶ] χρήματα καὶ ἐγ[.....
πρὸς] ἡμῶν ἐτοίμασ[ον.....
... ἥ]δη γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα[.....
20 οὐκ ἄρ]νοῦμαι ὅτι ση[μεῖα.....
....]. ἰγον διὰ πν[εύματος.....
.... το]ῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτο[ῦ.....
.....]εκει πεν.[.....
bottom of column

- ... not to grieve (over??) him. "But remember
- 15 that it(?) was endangered by the blood(?)
... by her/it... therefore
with regard to money and...
with/by us prepare...
... for now the spirit...
20 ... I do not deny that signs...
... through the spirit...
... of his brother...
...

Notes:

For page arrangement see 3→. Fragment n is absent from the Transcribed Text because it contains no text. Fragment h belongs with 1cd + , and g must be part of a later page. Though there is good reason to believe that Jannes continues to be the chief actor, the setting of the current episode is not fully assured. Since, according to 4a + →, Jannes and Jambres travel to Memphis, at some point after the contest in Pharaoh's presence he must have returned home. Not improbably, as we have noted, this happened in the closing lines of 3ab→ (see *Notes* line 21). It was probably at home that he encountered his brother and mother whom he no doubt told what happened in Memphis and how the struggle should now continue. This becomes the more likely if, as we have assumed, the mother is indeed present.

1 λυπεῖν. The reading of this verb is based on the joint witness of Beatty and Vienna B (line 14). Apparently what is given in *oratio recta* was said by Jannes to his brother. Seeing that according to Vienna B 13 Jambres is evidently on the scene and not implausibly counseled Jannes to abandon the struggle, it is likely that he is told not to vex Jannes. His mother may well have been included in the reproof, since τὴν μητέρα (αὐτοῦ) not only neatly fills the lacunae in both texts but also effectively utilizes αὐτοῦ of Vienna B 14.

μνήσθητι. Since what precedes -ητι is c rather than θ, the reconstruction may be incorrect, the more since μνη is somewhat short for the lacuna, though the ink traces are compatible. Yet, an aorist passive imperative (of circa 8 letters) is probable in the context. It may be that the scribe wrote mistakenly μνήσητι (or possibly μνήσσητι). (See Gignac 1 p. 98.) If our reconstruction is even approximately correct, the *oratio recta*, in evidence in line 4 (ἐτοίμασον), must begin here and, in that case, ἐκινδύνευσεν refers to a third party not present, not impossibly Moses. (To proceed from indirect speech to direct speech is, of course, common Greek literary practice.) Jannes could be claiming, in reply to his brother's pessimistic assessment of the situation, that Moses had a narrow escape during their confrontation(s). Alternatively, he may be telling Jambres that the king's well-being had been endangered, especially if the following phrase has reference to the first plague (see further below). The available space on line 2 would be adequately filled by ὁ βασιλεὺς but less so by ὁ Μωσῆς; however, better than either might be ἡ Αἴγυπτος if the verb which follows is intransitive and the next phrase refers to the blood of the first plague.

2 ἐκινδύ-

νευθεν. A comparison of the Beatty and Vienna texts at this point suggests strongly that, in our text, a discrete subject preceded the verb, whereas in Vienna it must have followed it, though evidently in shorter form (ἡ γῆ [+ καὶ?] versus ἡ Αἴγυπτος? see further below). In both LXX and NT this verb is used only intransitively (Eccl 10:9, Sir 31 [34]:12, Jonah 1:4, Isa 28:13, DanLXX 1:10, 2Mac 15:17, 3Mac 5:41, Lk 8:23, Acts 19:27, 40, 1Cor 15:30) and that is apparently also the case in our text. ἐν τῷ ηματι. As the word stands, the only two realistic candidates for ηματι are ἡμαρ (“day”) and ἡμα (“javelin”), both Homeric words, the latter exclusively so (Il. 23.891). Since εἶλαρ in 2a→ 7 is also exclusively Homeric, this fact *per se* need not be considered a problem. ἡμαρ appears unlikely because it is not attested articulated in an adverbial time phrase and is, furthermore, a poetic word. Moreover, though our text is obscure, to read that someone was in danger “in the daytime” seems somehow less likely than that he was threatened by a javelin or some such projectile. However, when one takes note of the fact that LSJ (confirmed by TLG) gives but a single reference for ἡμα in Homer, even the better of our choices looks unattractive. A third possibility is that the phrase is incomplete and also gives us an interchange of ι/η (cf., e.g., ἱματίῳ), but no more suitable meaning is thus gained nor is this vowel interchange attested elsewhere in our papyrus. Best, perhaps, is to read ἐν τῷ αἵματι. Though only one αι/η interchange is attested elsewhere in the Beatty text, instances of the (phonetically overlapping) ε/η confusion occur regularly. Both are, of course, common in texts of Egyptian provenance. In context, if reference is being made to Moses, ἐν τῷ αἵματι might then possibly mean that he “ran the risk with his blood,” i.e. he was in danger of spilling his own, hence of losing his life. Though such a rendering is grammatically sound, one might wonder whether phrases such as ἐν τῷ ζῆν/βίῳ/σώματι would not more suitably express a threat to some one’s life. Moreover, the reasonably certain |αι of Vienna B 16 makes it possible that ἐκινδύνευθεν was construed with an infinitive, but to combine the latter with the former construction is difficult grammatically, unless the prepositional phrase be made to yield an instrument, e.g. “so-and-so was in danger of being killed with . . .” To make matters worse, ὕπ’ αὐτῆς of Vienna B 16 has no obvious antecedent. On the other hand, if we assume that our text speaks of the king or of Egypt, we may have, in our problematic phrase, a reference to the first plague of the Exodus account, which

the magicians are said to have matched (Ex 7:22), and under which the entire land suffered severely (7:21). Interestingly, our text states explicitly that Jannes equaled Moses' performance. If this plague is indeed referred to, Jannes will have admitted that Moses' action had a serious effect, but this in no way induced him to give up. Finally, if our text spoke specifically of Αἴγυπτος, it is not impossible that ὅπ' αὐτῆς of Vienna B 16 refers to it, but it is difficult to see how the grammar would have run, even if it was preceded by καί. (For the dreadful and inescapable nature of this plague according to Jewish literature see Ginzberg 2, 348f.)

3-4 What can be read suggests that Jannes is giving instructions to make preparations for the continuation of the struggle.

5ff After line 4 our two texts completely part company. One might wonder, therefore, whether 3a has been correctly pieced together. In support of correct papyrological reconstruction one can offer the following: 1. 3a→ can be made to read satisfactorily, though the vocative of line 3 comes perhaps somewhat awkwardly late in the speech (but Jannes may have been cut short by the summons); 2. the μὴ construction of 3a↓ line 6 is reminiscent of either the *oratio recta* or *obliqua* which precedes, though a different reconstruction is, of course, possible; 3. both the fiber structure and the markings of the papyrus support the placement, though the two pieces need not be contiguous. However, while by dropping part B circa 3 cm (= circa 4 lines) the two extant binding holes would end up equidistant from the top and bottom of the page (cf. I.8), perhaps less desirably, no text could in that case be interposed between the last line of 3aB→ and the first line of 3aA↓. Yet, the Vienna text suggests that several lines intervened, even if the exact wording in Beatty was not identical. Moreover, 4a + gives us the original height of our book. In summary then, separating parts A and B of this page to any significant degree creates more problems than it solves.

6 μεταυ. Preposed μὴ renders a verbal form probable. LSJ gives only two possibilities, μεταυγάζω ("look about for, glitter") and μεταυδάω ("address/accost"), but both are rare. The simplex form of the former, however, is well enough known in biblical Greek, including for the shining of moon and stars (cf. 3Bar 9:8). Since the sequel speaks of a setting ἀστήρ, such a meaning might be appropriate. Alternatively, we could posit an υ/β interchange (not elsewhere attested in our text) and read a form of, for instance, μεταβαίνω or μεταβάλλω, both of which involve change of some kind.

7 διδόντων. It may be that the participle is part of a genitive absolute construction

grammatically dependent on a 3rd pl verb in the next line (Jov), not implausibly, in light of the next phrase, (ἐπ)έμενον; that is, they awaited the morning. The durative aspect would portray an activity performed throughout the night. For the syntax, in that case, see *Notes* on 3g↓ 4.

7ff Presumably in line 7 or line 8 a portent is seen in the sky. Next morning, Jannes (one assumes) inspects the circumstances of the astral omen and interprets its meaning. Instead, the Vienna text, lines 19-23, appears to mention that Jannes (as in lines 10-11) acknowledges that the spirit of God is upon Moses and that the signs he and Aaron have done demonstrate divine agency. That this is a case of true penitence is belied by both Beatty 3a→ line 17 and Jannes' end. More plausibly Jannes emphasizes the need for utmost exertion in the fight.

8 εἰς τὸ αὐριον. The phrase in biblical literature is used both with and without articulation. Here, however, the neuter gender has been used mistakenly for the feminine.

10 ἐξήτασεν. For this word in an astrological/astro-nomical context cf. Ptolemy *Tetrabiblos* 2, 6 (= 77 line 1). Jewish (and Christian) belief in omens and prodigies of various kinds is well known. Apocalyptic literature especially is rich in signs adumbrating future events, notably of an eschatological nature. Josephus (War 6, 288-315) not only gives us a long list of portents which foreshadowed the destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70 but also notes (291) that it was the sacred-scribes (ἱερογραμματεῖς) who possessed the necessary skill to give the correct interpretation. It is of interest both that our book dubs Jannes and Jambres μάγοι (see *Notes* on 2a + →), who, therefore, like the magi of Matthew 2, may be expected to have had some skill in reading astronomical omens, and that the two brothers are said to be of priestly descent (see *Notes* on 4a + →). Numenius appropriately and probably correctly calls them ἱερογραμματεῖς. Their expertise in omen interpretation is, therefore, beyond reproach. We may safely assume that, here as elsewhere in our book, Jannes plays the lead role.

ποία ὥρα. Jannes' interpretation of the omen may not be based solely on the time of the star's setting, since the preceding line speaks of phenomena in the plural (τηρούμενα). Not improbably a configuration of phenomena is being observed. Jannes' query may perhaps suggest that the star or planet set at an unusual hour. We may note that the first omen mentioned by Josephus (War 6, 289) is a star resembling a sword, which stood over Jerusalem.

13 ψευδῶν χειλῶν καὶ δολίων καρδίων. Though neither of the phrases is fully preserved, the restoration seems nonetheless irresistible. The former occurs in Prov 8:7, 12:22,

17:4, 7; the closest biblical approximation to the latter is ψυχὰὶ δόλῃαι in Prov 13:9. Jannes interprets the astral phenomenon as a negative omen, predicting death for an entire society (see line 14). What is striking here is not that Jannes recognizes adumbrated ruin as punishment for evil committed, but that the group in question is explicitly and specifically labeled a lying and deceitful generation. This characterization, too, Jannes is seemingly able to infer from the omen *per se*, since it can scarcely be thought of as his own contribution if, as seems inescapable, the reference is to contemporary Egyptian society. In all probability, neither brother is as yet fully aware that the setting star pertains to their own people. Perhaps, that is brought home to them in the following lines where additional signs are apparently observed.

14 τοῦ θανάτου αὐτῆς. Though the possessive pronoun is supplied *in toto*, the occurrence of τοιαύτη γενεά in line 12 as well as the recurrence of γενεά in line 17 suggests αὐτῆς in preference to αὐτοῦ as a reference to Jannes' own θάνατος (cf. 3a + → line 13).

15 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν. The reconstruction here indicates that Jambres rather than Jannes is the subject. It seems reasonable to surmise that Jambres as second-in-command would call Jannes' attention to additional astronomical data but that Jannes would read their meaning.

πόσον. The second vowel is problematic both because of the shape suggested by the ink traces and because of the amount of space it evidently occupied. Since *v* is virtually certain, few choices are available. We might possibly read πόσων but would then have to interpret it as a misspelling of πόσον.

κατὰ. The size of the lacuna in the next line demands a longer phrase than κατὰ ἀνατολὰς. Consequently, it seems likely that astral phenomena were seen in other parts of the sky as well. A word such as νότον or λίβα would fill the available space. The entire expression from πόσον onward has been taken to refer to the length of time the phenomenon (-na) was (were) viewed. Also possible is that their size is at issue.

16 καὶ εἶπεν οὐθέν. We have assumed that Jannes is here the speaker and that he remains momentarily silent. Not improbably he is stunned when he realizes that the phenomena he and his brother have been observing in the sky signal doom for Egypt. The next line would then mean that after being briefly tongue-tied, Jannes explains that the generation whose ruin is being predicted is they themselves and their fellow Egyptians. In that case we might reconstruct Αἴγυπτος in line 17 (though *π* is not ideal) and assume that articulation of αὐτῇ γενεά was omitted.

TRANSCRIBED TEXT

Frame 4 → a, b, d-k

	a		b		d
1	προϋμαςοτεξυπ		δρα		
2	καιμαδησθιςτος		εαυτουπ		ουςφ
3	καιειδωϊαμβρη		αιαιςθ τη		προν
4	αυτου ενοσει		δετοναδελφ		παραλ
5	μα		θηλαβω		
6	ειπεν		ρηγραφ		
7	ασιλεα				
8	αγων		e	f	g
9	ηκετ ωσκ λλ	1	μεμφ	βρ	αντ
10	υτηςμ οτεπις	2	ενδ	ιπρ	λως
11	ςκαθημερανδε	3		ντα	
12	υγιγνωσκιντακα				
13	επλαγηνδεκαι				
14	ςεχινςοιπιστως				
15	εν ηνςυνε				
16	ηδοναφ				
	h	i	j		k
1		ανθρφ	ηρι		
2	ερ	ματαμοι	ογυ		λ
3					θ
4					
5					

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

Frame 4abdefi→

top of page

- πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅτ' ἐξυπ[.
 καὶ μαδησθῆς τὸ σ[ῶμα αὐτοῦ τὸ σύνολον
 καὶ εἰδὼς Ἰάμβρη[ς.
 αὐτοῦ [..] ἐνόσει [.
 5]μα[.
 ὁ δὲ Ἰάννης] εἶπεν [.
 πρὸς τὸν β]ασιλέα [.
]. ἄγων[.
 μ]ηκέτ[ι π]ῶς κ[.]λλ[.
 10 α]ὐτῆς μ[ήπ]οτε πικ[ρανθῆς.
 .]ς καθ' ἡμέραν δὲ [ἀποστελῶ] ἄνθρ(ωπ)ο[ν σὲ
 το]ῦ γινώσκιν τὰ κα[τεγκλή]ματά μοι·
 ..]επλάγην δὲ καὶ Ἰ[άμ]βρ[η τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου
 προ]σέχιν σοὶ πιστῶς· [κα]ὶ πρ[οσελθὼν ἐφίλ-
 15 η]σεν [αὐτ]ὴν συνέ[χων] τὰ [δάκρυα· ἐξελθοῦ-
 σης δὲ σχ]ηδὸν ἄφ[ηκεν τὰ] δρ[α]κρυα καὶ
 περιέλαβεν τ]οὺς φ[ίλοῦς] ἑαυτοῦ, π[άντας
 παρακαλέσας] προν[οεῖσθ]αι αἰςθ.. τῆ[ς μη-
 τρὸς αὐτοῦ·] παραλ[αβὼν] δὲ τὸν ἀδελφ[ὸν αὐ-
 20 τοῦ εἰς] Μέμφ[ιν ἐπορεύ]θη· λαβῶ[ν τὴν βί-
 βλον εἶπ]εν δ[ὲ] τῷ Ἰάμβ]ρη· Γραφ[ήν σοι
 2 rd μαδησθεις 12 rd γινωσκειν 14 rd προσεχειν
 15 συνεχων: συσχων P. Vindob 16 δε: + αυτης
 rd σχεδον(?) rd δακρυα

to you when . . .

And when he had lost his hair all over his body . . .

and when Jambres had become aware . . .

his . . . was ill . . .

5 . . .

. . . Jannes said, “. . .

to the king . . .

. . . contest . . .

- no longer how . . .
- 10 . . . lest perchance you be annoyed with me . . .
 . . . but every day I will send a person
 in order that you know the charges against me.
 And I was indeed amazed how loyally Jambres
 my brother kept heeding you.” Then he stepped forward and
 15 kissed her, fighting back tears.
 But when she had scarcely left he burst into tears.
 Then he embraced his own friends, having
 ordered all of them to show regard for . . . his mother.
 And having taken along his brother
 20 he traveled to Memphis. Having taken the book
 he then said to Jambres, “A document to you

Vienna Frag A 1-12

- αὐτῆς] μήποτε πικρανθῇ[ς καθ’
 ἡμέραν] δὲ ἀποστελῶ πρὸς σὲ τοῦ γινώσ-
 κειν] καὶ σὲ τὰ κατεγ[κλήματά μοι (επλαγην?)
 δὲ καὶ Ἰωάμβρη τῷ ἀδ[ελ]φῷ μου πρ[οσκ-
 5 εἶσθαι σοι, προσέχειν σοι π[ι]στῶς· καὶ πρ[οσ-
 ελθὼν κατεφίλησεν αὐτὴν συσχὼν [τὰ
 δάκρυα· ἐξελεύσεως δὲ αὐτῆς π. δ[ι]. σχε-
 δὸν ἀφῆκεν τὰ δάκρυα καὶ περ[ι]έλα[βεν
 φίλους αὐτοῦ, πάντας παρακαλέσ[ας] προνοε-
 10 ῖσθαι τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ· παραλ[αβὼν δὲ τὸν ἀ-
 δελφὸν αὐτοῦ εἰς Μέμφιν ἐπ[ορεύθη· λαβὼν
 βίβλον εἶπε δὴ· Ἄδελφε, γραφ[ήν σοι παρατίθε-

- . . . lest perchance you be annoyed with me . . . but every
 day I will send word to you in order that you too may
 know the charges against me. And I was indeed
 amazed how loyally Jambres my brother kept being de-
 5 voted to you, kept heeding you.” Then he stepped
 forward and kissed her, fighting back
 tears. But when she had scarcely . . . left
 he burst into tears. Then he embraced
 his friends, having ordered all of them to show regard
 10 for his mother. And having taken along his

brother he traveled to Memphis. Having taken (the)
book he then said, “Brother, a document to you I am

Notes:

Fragment f, which forms part of lines 13-15 of the reconstructed page, has lost all text on the ↓ side. The → ↓ order of Frame 4 is assured by Vienna A. The two texts supplement each other in many details but also clearly show a measure of independence. Not all fragments in Frame 4 belong to the same folio. We have already seen that c belongs with 1cd3h. Fragment k needs to be turned 180°. Fragments g, h, j and k may belong with abdefi, but in the absence of decisive clues, we have left them unplaced. Line spacing on g, at any rate, supports a connection. A direct narrative relation to 3a + ↓ we have been unable either to confirm or deny. Fragment i (cf. lines 11-12) has been placed with some hesitation. On the positive side we may point to 1. the compatible line alignment on both sides with a, 2. the same state of surface deterioration on ↓ of i and a, and 3. the resultant compatible sense. On the negative side one may object that 1. the placement creates a variant (in line 11) from Vienna A, 2. the entire phrase (κατεγκλήματά μοι), though acceptable for the Beatty text, is slightly too long for Vienna A 3, if επλάγην is to be accommodated as well and 3. κατέγκλημα, according to LSJ, is not attested before xii AD, though ἐγκλημα is, of course, well known.

Since in line 19 of the present page, the two brothers leave for Memphis, the scene at the outset must be the magicians’ private estate.

1 πρὸς ὑμᾶς. Who may be inferred to be addressing whom is in part contingent on how we read the rest of the line. What can be read before the lacuna, namely, ὅτ’ ἐξυπ-, admits of few options. Either ἐξυπνος plus a 3rd sg form of γίγνομαι or a 3rd sg med-pass form of ἐξυπνίζω (plus perhaps ἐξ ὕπνου) would seem assured. If that is so, it is likely that Jambres is telling the magicians’ adherents (cf. line 17 and Vienna A 9) that Jannes, in spite of his pain, has been able to get some sleep and will attend to them when he awakens. (Aretaeus characterizes the leper’s sleep as “slight, worse than insomnolency,” 128, 372.) 2 μαθησθεῖς. The verb μαδάω is not common in Greek literature generally, and in biblical literature occurs only in Lev 13:40, 41 and Ezek 29:18. LSJ cites a sprinkling of references beginning with Hippocrates of Cos. Its meaning is “to be without hair/to be bald,” which is also the mean-

ing in Leviticus 13 where the reference is explicitly to a person's head. Ezekiel 29, on the other hand, speaks of a shoulder worn smooth, i.e. sore. The Leviticus passage as a whole (13:2-46), however, deals with suspicious skin abnormalities, one of which is hair loss (40-44). Since the object is to establish whether a person is suffering from צרעת "leprosy," though more inclusive than Hansen's disease, it is quite clear that the author includes alopecia (hair deficiency) as a symptom of this disease, contra modern medical opinion which regards this as a separate dermatosis. The fullest ancient description of this phenomenon is in Aretaeus, whom we have had occasion to cite before:

The hairs on the whole body die prematurely, on the hands, the thighs, the legs, and again on the pubes; scanty on the chin, and also the hairs on the head are scarce. And still more frequently premature hoariness, and sudden baldness; in a very short time the pubes and chin [are] naked of hair, or if a few hairs should remain, they are more unseemly than where they are gone. (127, 369)

Just how extensive Jannes' loss of hair was we do not know for certain, but the reconstruction we have suggested is based on the reasonably legible sigma on the edge of the papyrus. Moreover, the interpretation that his entire body was involved is in harmony with Aretaeus' description. In any case, the noun of our text is patently singular and τὸ πρόσωπον is not an option. τὸ σύνολον. LXX

knows this phrase only as an adverbial; here it may be read either as an adjectival or adverbial. ὅλον alone is clearly too short. Together with σῶμα the compound form is well attested in Greek literature. 4 ἐνόσει. This reading is by no means assured but a

phrase like ἐνόσει ἕως θανάτου would be appropriate in the context. We have already noted that Jannes' malady was regarded as fatal by the author of our book (see *Notes* on 3a + →) and the sequel makes clear that death is imminent. 6 εἶπεν. The *oratio recta* of lines

11-14 seemingly begins here and the speaker, in that case, may be assumed to be Jannes. We may further assume that throughout he is addressing his mother. What the precise content of lines 6-10 was we cannot know in detail. It seems reasonable to suggest, however, that Jannes will have stated explicitly that his own involvement in the struggle against Moses is rapidly drawing to a close. That the contest is now called off may perhaps be suggested by Jannes' warning to Jambres not to accompany the king in pursuit of the Hebrews (4a + ↓); but this is not borne out by the subsequent narrative. More

likely a final engagement looms. **10** *πικρανθής*. Since *πικρανθη* is assured by the Vienna text, plausible reconstructions are few. We have opted for the cited reading (perhaps followed by *ἐφ' ἐμοί*), because the next few lines suggest that Jannes has sidelined his mother to an extent, to her possible chagrin. Consequently, we may have here a link with 1cd + → line 15ff. where Jannes seemingly tries to keep her from getting too involved. Alternatively, we might read *πικρὰν θήκην*. Within the “biblical” corpus *θήκη* = “grave” is found only in 1Clem 50:4; however, the meaning is well attested elsewhere in Greek literature. To the references in LSJ and AGD we can add PGM IV 2215; in PGM XL 3, 5 it has the extended meaning of “funeral.” (For its use in Jewish epitaphs see P. W. van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs* p. 42.) Since on 4a + ↓ Jannes is attempting to save his brother from the disaster at the Red Sea, he may have tried to protect his mother as well from “a cruel grave.”

12 *κατεγκλήματα*. Again the Vienna text (A line 3) helps narrow the range of possible readings in Beatty. What we are suggesting seems the only realistic option, especially if the placement of Frag i is accepted. Jannes in 11-12 promises his mother that he will keep her informed about the accusations he faces in Memphis. Evidently he does not expect to be back. A judicial trial, which will prove to be his real undoing in the contest with Moses, awaits him (cf. I.7)

13 *επλάγην*. Though the reading is reasonably clear, the meaning of the text is problematic. The reader might expect Jannes to instruct Jambres “to heed” his mother faithfully once he himself is dead and gone, but no form of *-πλησσω* seems to be able to give that meaning. If one reads either *ἐξ-* or *καταπλήσσω*, the most common compounds, the text would presumably mean: “I was amazed at how loyally my brother Jambres kept heeding you.” This statement could then be seen as an admission of Jannes’ own relative neglect at which his mother had taken umbrage. Perhaps less satisfactory is to read *ἐπιπλήσσω* + dative (“rebuke/upbraid”), since the verb form is passive—unless of course Jannes is the recipient of the rebuke, but in that case the agency phrase is less than satisfactory.

Though Vienna A 4-5 reads *προσκεισθαί σοι, προσέχειν σοι*, the Beatty text cannot have had both expressions—unless the somewhat incongruous *τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου* (used by Jannes to their common mother!) be sacrificed, even though it too is supported by Vienna A. But since the first infinitive plus object is even more difficult to accommodate than “my

brother," the former is perhaps best regarded as a gloss on προσέχειν σοι.

14 ἐφίλησεν Vienna A 6 reads κατεφίλησεν, but this is too long for the Beatty text.

15 συνέχων. Vienna A 6 reads συσχών.

15-16 ἐξελεύσεως δὲ σχηδόν. How to reconcile our two texts here is a problem. Beatty is clearly defective in having omitted αὐτῆς (possibly by parablepsis). We have further assumed that σχηδόν is a phonetic variant of σχεδόν, which neither text reads *per se* but which makes good sense in the context. If this is correct, the Vienna text must have included some additional item of 4 or 5 letters, but what? παρασχεδόν is not impossible, but uncertain at best.

18 τοὺς φίλους ἑαυτοῦ. Available space in Vienna A 8 does not allow for articulation. Furthermore, in light of what the Beatty text reads, Vienna A 9 might be read as αὐτοῦ.

προνοεῖσθαι κτλ. The Beatty text apparently includes a word which Vienna A 10 lacks.

20 Μέμφιν. The biblical exodus account makes no mention of Memphis as being the scene of the action between Moses and the magicians, but both Philo (*Vita Mosi* 1, 118) and Artapanus (Frag 3) state so explicitly. However, as has already been noted (I.1), this detail is of no significance for the question of authorship of the Jannes and Jambres tale, since any writer with a modicum of historical sense would have chosen this ancient royal city. Of greater interest is that Jannes takes Jambres to Memphis. As we have argued, the magicians no doubt set out from their residence outside the city.

ἐπορεύθη—αὐτῷ. Presumably both the Beatty and the Vienna texts mean that Jannes, accompanied by Jambres, travels to Memphis and, once there, presents his brother with a book and thus appoints him his successor. In other words, the book in question was kept in Memphis, and its presentation is a major reason for Jannes' journey thence. Though grammatically we might construe both the λαβὼν and the παραλαβὼν clauses as being dependent on ἐπορεύθη, the likely sense of the passage militates against this. If the book was indeed kept in Memphis, as is likely, the hedra which Jannes entered after his confrontation with Moses at court (see 3a + → 14) might be a logical place.

τὴν βίβλον. Since the Vienna text *spatii causa* cannot have read the article, we have assumed that it was added in the margin. In the traditions about Jannes and Jambres we hear twice about (a) book(s) which belonged to them (in distinction from a book about them) (cf I.5 above). In an Ethiopic translation of an Arabic paraphrase of the

Greek text of John of Nikiu's *Chronicle* we read, according (chapt. 30) to Charles' rendering,

... in the days of Petissonius, that is, Pharaoh Amosius, king of Egypt, who ruled by the help of the book of the magicians Jannes and Jambres, who wrought shameful things before the mighty Moses, who talked with God. . . . (pp. 27-28)

And again in the B text of the ActsCath (§11) it is stated,

Ἄλλα δὲ καὶ ὁ τιμογλύφιος Ἰαννῆς καὶ Μαμβρῆς τῇ προυμαίδι(?) τῆς νεκρομαντείας τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν βιβλῶν καραξιῶδους ὀπτρίζουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων κεκοιμημένα πρόσωπα ἐν τῇ γῇ τοῖς ζητοῦσιν θεάσασθαι. (Viteau p. 30)

As James already noted (LAOT p. 34), only the last clause is intelligible ("... they show to them that seek to behold persons that have slept in the earth from the ages"). Yet what precedes evidently makes reference to "books" in the context of "necromancy"—and this ties in well with what we read in extant fragments of *Jannes and Jambres*. The Latin text opens with the words:

Aperuit Mambres libros magicos fratris sui Iamnis et fecit necromantiam.

A fragmentary parallel to this text is given in Beatty 5a + → (see below). Another Beatty fragment as well, which we have already discussed, may possibly be of relevance, namely 2a → 14-15. We are there told that immediately upon the occurrence of the earthquake accompanied by thunder and lightning "Jannes ran into the library where his δυνάμεις were." If, however, the setting in 2a → is the magicians' private estate and if the book at issue here was deposited in Memphis, as we have suggested, the latter cannot have been included in Jannes' δυνάμεις stored in his personal library. But this line of interpretation raises an interesting question, namely, that of the relationship between Jannes' δυνάμεις, kept in his own library, and "the book" stored somewhere in Memphis. If this document was no more than the magician's book of magic, his basic tool, why then was it seemingly deposited in a place of special safe-keeping in the city? Moreover, the magical books used by Jambres in his performance of necromancy on Jannes' soul (5a + →) are explicitly said to have belonged to Jannes and were clearly not kept in Memphis since the scene must be the magicians' private estate where Jannes was undoubtedly buried. Consequently, it is difficult to avoid the

conclusion that the document here in question, perhaps significantly labeled a γραφή in Jannes' own ensuing speech, has been endowed with a significance beyond that of a mere book of magic. If that is so, we may have here a kind of (written), Faustian pact—and in that case its earliest known example—, which, on the present occasion, is transferred to Jambres. The Beelzebul controversy in the Synoptic Gospels (Mt 12:22-29 and parallels) reminds us that, being in formal league with the Devil, was a motif an author of the period might easily have introduced. What is new here is that a *written* pact seems to be involved. Not without interest in this connection is the χειρόγραφον (“note of indebtedness”) of Col 2:14 which some both ancient and modern scholars have interpreted to be a pact with the devil. Georg Megas (ZNW 27 [1928] 305-20) has shown that the tale of Adam's note of indebtedness, in the possession of the devil but annulled through Christ's crucifixion, is not only well known from Slavic and late Greek tradition (for Armenian see M. E. Stone, “New Discoveries. . .”) but can be traced in Patristic sources as early as Origen. Megas links this story with mediaeval legends portraying a voluntary pact between man and the devil, which reaches at least as far back as iv AD and constitutes the basis for the Faustian pact; next he cites a number of references in Christian-Greek liturgical poetry which mention the tearing up of mankind's χειρόγραφον, and then argues for a connection with Colossians. Though his suggestion that the χειρόγραφον of 2:14 refers to a pact with the devil has not met with universal support (see e.g. Lohse in TWNT and Hermeneia), the idea deserves reconsideration, if a written pact with the devil is indeed as old as *Jannes and Jambres*. Not implausibly, the pact in the latter, if it exists, should be linked with the paradise Jannes plants. Unlike Adam who bemoans his expulsion from paradise, Jannes through his pact with the devil may be seen to have regained it. Whatever in the final analysis the precise nature of the document here in question, there can be little doubt that, by entrusting it to Jambres, Jannes appoints him his successor. 21 τῷ Ἰάμβρη. Vienna A 12 clearly reads ἀδελφε instead. To read Ἰαμβρη as a vocative is not impossible, but poses a problem for the preceding lacuna. γραφήν. Reference is here clearly made to the βιβλος mentioned above. What is of interest, however, is the use of this particular term since in the NT, though not in the LXX (cf., e.g., 3Mac 2:27), it denotes Holy Scripture exclusively. For its use in reference to a work of magic see PGM XII 97, as well as *Cyprian and Justina*,

although the three versions published by Radermacher vary in wording: τὰς βίβλους (version I), τὰς μαγικὰς γραφάς (vers. II), τὰς μαγικὰς βίβλους (vers. III) (see pp. 104-05). The pact with the devil in the early precursors of Faust (Proterius, Theophilus and Anthemius) is simply labeled an ἔγγραφον.

TRANSCRIBED TEXT

Frame 4 ↓ a, b, d-k

	a		b		d	
1	<u>χαιενμυστηριωκα</u>		ν			
2	γενημεραηεξερ		κηπ		νει	
3	καιιοιμεγις ανεστης		εστινκαιιουδ		ις ^{εοι} ο	
4	τονλα		καθαρισθι		αcδε	
5	υτοις		κ εκδ			
6	ψυχη		αιγυπτ			
7	αποτουα		αιτωαδε			
8	ονουραν		<u> </u>			
9	νοστου γατου		e	g	j	k
10	μητερ ημωνερχ	1	ναρ			
11	ταραματακαιεταντ	2	ουc	πε	<u>θποι</u>	κ
12	ποναυτηει ουδ	3	ναυ		απεθ	ο
13	κεναυτω ασιλ	4	ιθυ			τι
14	λθουcαημητηρ					
15	αποθαν					

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

Frame 4abdefi↓

top of page

- παρατίθεται καὶ ἔ]χαι ἐν μυστηρίῳ κα[ἰ
 φύλαξαι μὴ ἐξελθεῖ]ν ἐν ἡ ἡμέρᾳ {η} ἐξέρ-
 χεται ὁ βασιλεὺς] καὶ οἱ μεγισ[τ]ᾶνες τῆς
 Αἰγύπτου διώκειν] τὸν λα[ὸν Ἑβραίων
 5 μηδὲ συνοδεύειν α]ὐτοῖς [ὑποκρίθητι
 δὲ ἄρρωστεῖν καὶ τὴν] ψυχὴ[ν σου φύλα-
 ξον ἀπὸ θανάτου καὶ] ἀπὸ τοῦ ᾗ[δου. . . .
 ὁ θε(ε)ὸς τ]ὸν οὐραν[ὸν.
]νος τοῦ [θα]νάτου. .
 10 τὴν] μητέρ[α] ἡμῶν ἐρχ[. .
 κα]ταράματα καὶ σταντ[. .
 εἰ]πον αὐτῇ εἰ[.] οὐδ[. . .
]κεν αὐτῶ[. β]ασιλ[. . .
 ἐ]λθοῦσα ἡ μήτηρ [ἡμ-
 15 ὦν. . .]ν. [. . . .] ἀποθαν[εῖται. . .
] κηπ[. . . .]νει[.
 ἐστὶν καὶ οὐδ[. . . .]ισεοιο[.
 καθαρισθί[ς. . . .] ας δε. . [.
] κ. ἐξδ[.]ουε[.
 20 . . .] Αἰγυπτ[.]ναυ[.
 . . .]αὶ τῷ ἁδελ[φῷ αὐτοῦ. .]ιθυ[.
 bottom of page

1 rd εχε

2 om η^{2ο}17 σε^c σοι*

18 rd καθαρισθεῖς

I am entrusting. Keep it secret and
 take heed not to go out on the day on which
 the king and nobles of Egypt go out
 to pursue the people of the Hebrews
 5 nor to accompany them. But feign
 illness and guard your life
 from death and from Hades. . .
 . . . God heaven. . .
 . . . death. . .

- 10 . . . our mother . . .
 . . . curses . . .
 . . . say(?) to her . . .
 . . . king . . .
 . . . our mother having come . . .
- 15 . . . she will die . . .
 . . .
 is and no- . . . you . . . ”
 cleansed . . . but . . .
 . . .
- 20 Egypt . . .
 . . . his brother . . .

Vienna Frag A 13-19

- μαι καὶ ἔχε ἐν μυστηρίῳ καὶ φύλαξαι μὴ ἐξελ-
 θεῖν ἐν ἡ ἡμέρα ἐξέρχεται [ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ
 15 οἱ μεγιστᾶνες τῆς Αἰγύπτου διώκειν τὸν λα-
 ὸν Ἑβραίων μηδὲ συνο[δεύειν ὑποκρίθη-
 τι δὲ ἄρρωστεῖν καὶ τὴν [ψυχὴν σου φύλαξον
 ἀπὸ θανάτου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ᾗδου
 τιωνην ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐ[ρανόν
 bottom of column

- entrusting. Keep it secret and take heed not to
 go out on the day on which the king and
 15 nobles of Egypt go out to pursue the people
 of the Hebrews nor to accompany (them). But
 feign illness and guard your life
 from death and from Hades . . .
 . . . God heaven . . .

Notes:

For fragment c see 4a + →. Because they have no legible text, fragments f h and i have not been included in the Transcribed Text, though for the sake of completeness, f and i have been added to the heading of the Reconstructed Text. Since the narrative continues overleaf from 4a + →, the scene is still somewhere in Memphis.

Jannes' entrusting of an important document to his brother is accompanied by what reads like a set of final instructions. In other words, his speech has a testamentary character. Due to the fragmentary nature of both the Beatty and the Vienna texts only the first two instructions are entirely clear. First off, Jambres is instructed to guard "the book" in secrecy; secondly, he is warned neither to participate in the Egyptian pursuit of the Hebrews nor even to accompany the king, lest he pay for it with his life. Beyond that Jannes devotes several lines to their mother, and possibly instructs his brother how to keep her safe. Finally, the subject of his own disease appears to have been broached. It has already been suggested that Jannes' admonition to his brother does not mean that the struggle is being called off. The traditions on the two brothers, as well as the remainder of our book, confirm such an interpretation. Evidently, the advice is tactical in nature and aimed at keeping Jambres alive in order to continue the struggle, armed with "the book." Had Jannes repented, he would no doubt have been portrayed as burning the document rather than entrusting it to his brother, thereby appointing him his heir and successor. That Jannes is aware of the pursuit of the Hebrews probably means that it is imminent—unless, of course, he has been endowed by the writer of our book with prophetic foresight.

1 παρατίθεμαι. The med-pass personal ending is attested by Vienna A 13, but παρατίθεμαι is preferable to Maraval's παραδίδομαι, since the latter verb is regularly active in form. The author's choice of word graphically underscores the importance attached to the document that is given to Jambres. ἐν μυστηρίῳ. Within biblical literature this phrase occurs only at 1Cor 2:7 where, however, μυστήριον, as elsewhere in Pauline literature, has a religious sense and connotes allegedly a profound truth not accessible to the unaided human intellect. The phrase also occurs in TJud 12:6 where it qualifies what Judah had said to Tamar while in a state of inebriation. A close parallel to our text, however, is found in *Acts of St. Catherine* (Texts B and C §15). Empress Augusta, in an effort to keep from the emperor that she wants to visit the martyr in prison, says to Porphyry, the official in charge: ὁ ἔχω σοι εἰπεῖν . . . ἔχε ἐν μυστηρίῳ. In our passage this expression is clearly intended to keep the document secret and not to divulge its contents to unauthorized persons. The injunction to secrecy is frequently found in the magical papyri. Cf. e. g. PGM I 130, 192, IV 2512, 2518, XII 321-22, XIII 755. In ἔχε ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ of XIII 321 we have no doubt an exact

equivalent to our phrase. According to Betz (GMPT 1 xli) this injunction was inspired by public suppression of magic. If the document in question, however, is not simply a book of magic, as we have suggested, but a kind of Faustian pact, Jannes' order to keep it secret is even more *à propos*. 2 φύλαξαι. Though this word

is clearly suggested by Vienna A 1, the middle is to be preferred to the active (contra Maraval), since neither text has room for a reflexive pronoun. 3 μεγιστᾶνες. Though in the biblical exodus narrative the chief officials of Pharaoh are simply called his "ser-

vants" (θεράποντες; cf., e.g., Ex 4:10), in our story they are more particularly described as individuals of the highest rank in the nation. The Hellenistic term μεγιστᾶν (of Persian origin) does not occur in the Pentateuch but appears with relative frequency in the prophetic books and beyond, including with reference to Egypt (e.g., Jer 32:5, Ezek 30:13). 4 διώκειν. Maraval supplied κατὰ in Vienna A 15, which is not seriously deficient in length for that text. The lacuna in Beatty, however, demands a somewhat longer word. The διωκ- root is firmly based in the biblical exodus story (cf. Ex 14:4, 8, 9, 23; 15:9), though only the last named passage has the simplex form. 5-6 ὑποκρίθητι. Any reconstruction here faces the problem of integrating the two texts. Maraval filled in οὐκ ἔξεσ/τι, but this, like the reading proposed here, is too long for the Vienna text by approximately four to five letters, though this number is required in the Beatty text. (No amount of "normal" phonetic juggling can reconcile the two.) We have reluctantly concluded, therefore, that Vienna lacked preceding αὐτοῖς, which, strictly speaking, is superfluous to the sense of the phrase. The choice between ὑποκρίθη/τι and οὐκ ἔξεσ/τι comes down to the question of the likely meaning of the passage. Maraval's reading, οὐκ ἔξεστι. . . ἄρρωστεῖν, would presumably mean that Jambres could not afford to be weak, when pressured to accompany the king, if he was to escape sharing his lot. It is questionable, however, that ἄρρωστεῖν can be so used, since its semantic field seems limited to physical ailment (cf. also Modern Greek ἄρρωσταίνω). Moreover, an imperative parallel to ἔχε (line 1) and φύλαξαι (line 2) seems somehow more appropriate. The text is then likely to mean that Jambres is to feign illness with the object of being excused from participating in the pursuit and thus to protect himself from death. The phrase προφασίζομαι ἄρρωστεῖν is listed in LSJ for Demosthenes 19.124, but προφασίσθητι (as well as προσποιήθητι) is much too long

for Vienna A 16-17 and also too long for the Beatty text. For ὑποκρίνομαι in biblical Greek see Sir 1:29, 35:15, 36:2, 2Mac 5:25, 6:21, 24, 4Mac 6:15, 17, Lk 20:20. There is no good reason to assume that Jannes is portrayed as foreseeing all the particulars of the destruction awaiting the king and his army, but he patently senses that their doom is sealed when they set out. **7-15** References

to death on at least three occasions set the tone of Jannes' final instructions. Whether the mother is anticipated as coming to Memphis (lines 10 and 14) is uncertain. Our book gives no firm evidence that she was ever there, though the setting of 5a + ↓ (see below) is ambiguous.

11 καταράματα. If this reading is correct we may possibly have here a reference to what Balaam attempted to achieve against the Israelites at the behest of Balak king of Moab. To place the Hebrews under a curse might be deemed a safer tactic for Jambres than participation in the pursuit. However, κατάραμα (for κατάρα), is attested only in a scholion on Euripides.

12 εἶπον. If correct it should probably be read either as 1 sg indic or 2 sg imper.

15 ἀποθανεῖται. We have assumed here a prediction by Jannes of the mother's death, should she follow a certain course of action (possibly, coming to Memphis). If correct, Jannes is attempting to keep both his brother and his mother safe from destruction.

18 καθαρισθεῖς. This word is particularly suitable on the assumption that Jannes' disease is indeed leprosy.

TRANSCRIBED TEXT

Frames 2 → h, 3 → g

	2h	3g
1	ωνκαιψο ^φ ον	σαπ ν
2	ησκαιειπεν	λεουσμετατου
3	ςτοναδ φοναυ	επιδιωξετονλ
4	ντε	καιαπ λετ
5		τη ερ θραθαλ
6		εγυπτονπερ
7		καιτουλαουτ
8		νετοκλαυθμοσμ
9		υπτωϊαμβρησ
10		εαυ υ ^μ την
11		του

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

Frame 2h3g→

top of page

-]ων καὶ ψόφον
]ης καὶ εἶπεν
]ς τὸν ἀδ[ελ]φὸν αὐ-
 τοῦ.....]ντε. [.....
 5 [.....]
 [.....]
]ς ἀπ[ῆλθε]ν. [....
 ὁ βασι]λε{ο}ὺς μετὰ τοῦ [στρα-
 τοπέδου αὐτοῦ] ἐπιδιώξε τὸν λ[αὸν
 10 τῶν Ἑβραίων] καὶ ἀπ[ώ]λετ[ο].....
 ἐν] τῇ ἐρ[υ]θρᾷ θαλ[άσσῃ
 τὴν] Ἑγυπτον περ[....
] καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τ[ῶν Ἑ-
 βραίων καὶ ἐγέ]νετο κλαυθμὸς μ[έγας
 15 ἐν πάσῃ τῇ Αἰγ]ύπτῳ· Ἰάμβρης [δὲ
] ἐαυ[το]ῦ [[μ]] τὴν [...
].. [..]τοῦ. [....
 c. 4 lines lost

8 rd βασιλευς

9 rd επιδιωξαι

12 rd Αιγυπτον

... and noise
 ... and (s)he said
 ... his brother
 ...

5

- ... departed...
 the king with his army
 to pursue the people
 10 of the Hebrews and he perished...
 ... in the Red Sea...
 ... Egypt...
 ... and the people of the

Hebrews. And there was a loud weeping
 15 in all of Egypt. But Jambres . . .
 . . . himself . . .
 . . .

Notes:

In commentary on 2a → and 3a + → we already noted that fragments 2h and 3g respectively have been framed out of place. Since on 2h ↓ Jannes bewails his dreadful physical condition, this fragment must precede his demise on 5a + ↓ and likely follows 4a + → where he is still fit enough to take his brother to Memphis. Similarly, on 3g ↓ Jannes is still alive but evidently in great pain. Furthermore, 3g → speaks of the destruction of king and army at the Red Sea, which is reported as having happened on 5a + ↓. Consequently, 3g like 2h must have preceded 5. That 3g likewise follows 4 is clear from the fact that on 4a + → the pursuit by the king is still a future event. Not improbably the two pieces, 2h and 3g, originally formed part of the same page. Not only are line spacing and letter density compatible on both sides, but their present physical condition, including colouring, is very similar. This is especially true for the ↓ side. Moreover, their contents can be arranged in sensible sequence. The following order of events would result: 1. Jannes warns Jambres against accompanying the king (4a + ↓); 2. a noise (ψόφος) is heard, which may well have been the din of the army setting out in pursuit (2h →); 3. the Egyptians meet their end at the Red Sea (3g →); 4. Jannes bemoans his wretched condition (2h ↓); 5. groaning, Jannes addresses his brother. If what we have delineated is correct, it also means that the page order continues to be → ↓. (The margin on 2h gives no clear evidence on the presence or absence of a binding hole.) The placement of the two fragments in relation to each other is largely arbitrary. We have, however, taken cognizance of such factors as vertical markings, especially the break in 2h, which has been aligned with the outer edge of 3g. Separating the pieces by two lines creates a shape similar in outline to 3a and 4a. Though this may favour a ↓ → order, such seems unlikely though not impossible in view of the contents. 1 ψόφον. In Micah 1:13, the only biblical occurrence of this word, it is used to describe the noise made by chariots and horsemen, and such a meaning would be appropriate here, as we have noted. Its semantic field, however, extends well be-

yond military contexts and includes the realm of magic and mystery as is shown e.g. by PenCyp 1, 1 and 1, 2 (PG 47). Furthermore, in Lucian of Samosata's *Menippus* (14) it refers to the sound of the scourges used on the dead in the Place of Punishment (κολαστήριον).

2-4 One brother addresses the other, not improbably calling attention to the departure of king and army in pursuit of the Hebrews. How much time elapsed between Jannes' warning and the king's departure our text no longer divulges.

7-17 One of the more interesting features of the *Jannes and Jambres* version of the Red Sea account is its brevity in comparison with the biblical text (Exodus 14). In a few short lines our text apparently relates how the king marched out in pursuit of the Hebrews, together with his army drowned in the Red Sea, and thus cast the entire country into mourning. Jambres was not among the casualties, presumably because he heeded the warning of his ailing brother. Jannes too, as the remainder of our story shows, survived what happened at the Sea. It is perhaps the absence of both brothers from the scene of carnage that explains the radical abridgement of the biblical account. We may recall here that Jewish tradition (see I.3.25-29) has them destroyed at the Red Sea, makes them into proselytes who accompany Israel out of Egypt and are executed at Sinai, or has them meet their death in the company of their father Balaam in the post-Sinai period. Two passages in the Pseudepigrapha need to be examined to see whether these traditions find support elsewhere. The first of these is TSol 25:3-4 (see I.3.34). Here Abezethibou the demon who resides in the Red Sea is made to say:

ἐγὼ παρήμην ἥνικα ὁ Μωϋσῆς εἰσῆρχετο εἰς Φαραὼ βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου σκληρύνων αὐτοῦ τὴν καρδίαν. ἐγὼ εἰμι ὃν ἐπικαλοῦντο Ἰαννῆς καὶ Ἰαμβρῆς οἱ μαχόμενοι τῷ Μωϋσῇ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἀντιπαλαίων τῷ Μωϋσῇ ἐν τοῖς τέρασιν καὶ τοῖς σημείοις.

I was present when Moses came before Pharaoh and hardened his heart. I am he upon whom Jannes and Jambres called, who fought against Moses in Egypt. I am he who wrestled against Moses with wonders and signs.

The demon's connection with the Red Sea might be taken to suggest that Jannes and Jambres had a similar association. Such an interpretation, however, is not warranted by the text since it states explicitly that Jannes and Jambres battled Moses ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ; and wonders and signs against Moses likewise occurred in Egypt, unless a radical

re-arrangement of the biblical story be presupposed. Moreover, in answer to Solomon's next question the demon explains how he came to have his abode in the Sea: he was trapped when the waters covered the Egyptian host. The association with the Sea, therefore, is a secondary development. Elsewhere in *Testament of Solomon* (6:3) Abezethibou is said to be in charge of Tartarus, which was evidently his primary role and defined his official status in the realm of the demons. The second passage to be considered is Ps-Philo 47:1. The immediate context there is the defeat of the Israelite tribes by the Benjaminites (cf. Judg 20-21). In order to find the reason for Israel's defeat Phinehas, Eleazar's son, the priest, makes inquiry of the deity and says among other things:

Ego enim memor sum iuventute mea, quando peccavit Iambri in diebus Moysi famuli tui, et ingressus intravi ego et zelatus sum zelum anime mee, et ambos suspendi in romphea mea. (D. J. Harrington SC 229)

For I remember in my youth when Jambres sinned in the days of Moses your servant, and I went and entered in and was possessed with jealousy in my soul, and I hoisted both of them up on my sword. (Transl. Harrington in OTPs 2)

In a note on "both of them" Harrington writes: "They are not named in Ex 7:11 but are called Jannes and Jambres in the Jewish tradition and 2Tim 3:8." If Phinehas is referring to the episode of Zimri and the Midianite woman described in Num 25:6-14, as Harrington also recognizes, the association of Ps-Philo 47:1 with our two magicians, if correct, would have some important ramifications for the tale of Jannes and Jambres. Not only would it mean that, according to Pseudo-Philo, Jannes and Jambres accompanied the Israelites out of Egypt and survived Sinai, but also that one of the brothers was equated with the Zimri of Num 25. For this we have no attestation apart from Pseudo-Philo. Furthermore, since there is no evidence that Pseudo-Philo altered the account of Numbers 25 we have to infer that Jambres (= Zimri) at any rate was of Israelite lineage, a claim not made anywhere else apart from his dubious appearance in the 'Discussion' between Christians and Jews before Constantine (see I.3 [p. 34]). That Jannes and Jambres were originally thought of as Jewish leaders of apostate Israel in Egypt, as we have argued on the basis of the Damascus Document (see I.2), can scarcely be brought to bear on this passage. Clearly, since Harrington's

interpretation creates a unique tradition in the Jannes and Jambres tale, it must be considered questionable. Moreover, a more straightforward interpretation of Ps-Philo 47:1 is not difficult to find. In accordance with Num 25:8 the “both of them” (*ambos*) must mean Zimri and his Midianite woman, and “Jambri” of the Latin text is a corruption of LXX’s Ζαμβρί (25:14), which is identical in fact with what the θ text family of Pseudo-Philo reads. Whether this corruption goes back to the author of Pseudo-Philo himself and whether acquaintance with Jambres the magician played any role in it must remain unknown. Though the book of Jannes and Jambres is fragmentary, it seems nonetheless beyond reasonable doubt that, according to the book now in our possession, the two brothers were not involved in the incident at the Red Sea nor did they accompany the Israelites as proselytes.

We seem forced to conclude that the story of our book represents a major shift in focus from the biblical account. It is not the king who is central but Jannes; not the Red Sea episode marks the climax of the tale of willful opposition but Jannes’ confession from beyond the grave. A similar shift took place in the traditions about the two brothers. It is they who increasingly gain centre stage and are made responsible for Pharaoh’s death. The clearest indication of this shift comes in the *Palaea historica* (p. 232f.). In response to Moses’ demand, following the sign of the leprous hand, to let the people go, we read: καὶ ὁ μὲν φαραὼ ἐβούλετο τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, οἱ δὲ θεράποντες αὐτοῦ Ἰα(ν)νεῖς καὶ Ἰαμβρεῖς οἱ ἀρχιμάγοι οὐκ ἔασαν αὐτόν (“Pharaoh wished to do this but his servants, Jannes and Jambres the chief magicians, did not let him”). When Moses’ demand is reiterated, following the plague of darkness (which heads the list in Palhist), our author repeats: καὶ πάλιν οἱ θεράποντες τοῦ φαραὼ ἐκώλυσαν τοῦ μὴ ἀποστεῖλαι τὸν λαὸν Κυρίου (“Again Pharaoh’s servants prevented him from releasing the Lord’s people”). After the next plague (blood), Pharaoh’s servants insist that only the men be allowed to leave, and in response to plagues 3 and 4, both the servants and Pharaoh himself are adamant in their refusal, but when the plague of hail strikes, Pharaoh is represented as advising his servants that the Israelites ought to be let go, since the country is being devastated; but his servants will have none of it. Once again the familiar refrain is repeated: καὶ ἐποίησαν τὸν φαραὼ τοῦ μὴ ἐξαποστεῖλαι τὸν λαόν (“They forced Pharaoh not to release the people”). *Passion of Peter and Paul* 34 focuses the responsibility of Jannes and Jambres primarily on the king’s end:

καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι Ἰαννῆς καὶ Ἰαμβρῆς ἐπλάνησαν τὸν Φαραῶ καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ ἕως τοῦ καταποντισθῆναι ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ κτλ.

Just as the Egyptians, Jannes and Jambres deceived Pharaoh and his army, until they drowned in the sea.

The wording of ActsPP 55 is virtually identical, and a similar note is sounded in Aelfric's *De auguriis*. (see I.3 [p. 34]). Quite clearly, our book does not stand alone in re-directing the focus of the exodus tale from the king to the magicians. In similar vein, Esth 8:12cff. and 3Mac 7:3ff. ascribe the intended evil to the king's friends.

8 στρατοπέδου. In light of 4a + ↓ 3 we might perhaps expect mention of the μεγιστᾶνες, but the singular (gen) object of μετὰ precludes this. In Exodus 14 two terms for army appear, στρατιά (4, 17) and δύναμις (28) but neither of these is possible here. The term στρατόπεδον is well attested in Greek literature generally and in the Bible occurs at Jer 41:1, 48:12, 2Mac 8:12, 9:9, 3Mac 6:17, 4Mac 3:13, WisSol 12:8, Lk 21:20. It also appears in PassPP's statement on Jannes and Jambres which we have just cited. στρατός is clearly too short, though στρατεύματος would be a good alternative to what we have supplied and is well attested in both LXX and NT.

9 ἐπιδιώξαι. Exodus 14 uses καταδιώκω + ὀπίσω (4, 8, 9, 23), and the simplex form appears in the Song of Moses, Ex 15:9. The ἐπι- compound is not common (but cf., e.g., Ant 12, 292. 410), and within biblical literature occurs only in Gen 44:4 (with ὀπίσω as complement), and 3Mac 2:7 (followed by the accusative as here, and in reference to the same biblical episode). **14** κλαυθμός.

The Exodus account does not explicitly mention a national lament because of the drowning of Egypt's king and army, but Ex 12:30 speaks of a κραυγὴ μεγάλη as result of the tenth plague. **15**

Ἰάμβρης. On the basis of Jannes' warning in 4a + → and Jambres' continued appearance in our text, we may safely conclude that he escaped death at the Red Sea. Our book will no doubt have stated so explicitly at this point.

TRANSCRIBED TEXT

Frames 2 ↓ h, 3 ↓ g

	2h	3g
1	μουαπολλιταικαιτο	ca
2	σωμαμουλοντεταρ	ουσορκουσουωρκ
3	αδελφοςαυτουιαμβρη	οσαυτ ^c ουκαιαφιλ
4	χεται ηcδεαν	ιαμβρ ^{vv} υδεστε
5		ειπε φαδελφ
6		γεχθηναιτω
7		γιαεκατονχιλ
8		ρεκατονπωλ
9		αμηλουεκατονκ
10		τιπωτοπωχωρ
11		εχομενατηcμ
12		κειναυ uc

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

Frame 2h3g↓

top of page

μου ἀπόλλυται καὶ τὸ [πρόσωπον καὶ τὸ
σῶμά μου ὅλον τεταρ[αγμένα εἰσίν. καὶ ὁ
ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰάμβρη[ς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔρ-
χεται. [Ἰάνν]ης δὲ ἀν[.....

5

- ...]ca[.....
.. τ]οὺς ὄρκους οὗς ὥρκ[.....
...]ός σου καὶ ἀφιλ[ος.....
10] Ἰάνν[ο]υ δὲ στε[νάξαντος.....
....]. εἶπε[ν τ]ῷ ἀδελφ[ῷ αὐτοῦ.....
...]νεχθῆναι τω[.]..[..... ὁ-
ποζύ]για ἑκατὸν χιλ[.....
....]ς ἑκατὸν πώλ[ους.....
15 κ]αμήλους ἑκατὸν κ[αὶ.....
..]. τ]πιω τόπω χωρ[.....
...]. ἐχόμενα τῆς μ[.....
.....]κειν αὐ[το]ῦς [.....
c. 4 lines lost

1 rd απολλυται

9 αυτου* σου^c10 ιαμβρου* ιαννου^c

my... is being destroyed and my face and
my whole body are agitated." Then
his brother Jambres came to him,
but Jannes...

5

- ...
... the oaths which... made... swear
... of you and unfriendly...
10" But with a... groan Jannes
... said to his brother, "...
...
... hundred mules, a thousand...

- ... a hundred asses...
- 15 a hundred camels and...
- ... place...
- ... near...
- ... them...

Notes:

For papyrological details see 2h3g→. The continuity of the story from the preceding page is not self-evident, but nonetheless plausible. After the disaster at the Sea followed by a national lament, the attention shifts to Jambres' personal escape from destruction (2h3g→). Plausibly by 2h↓ we have turned to Jannes' failing health, which subject is then further touched on in 3g↓ where he groans in pain. The rest of the story on the latter piece is unfortunately rather unclear. Much hinges on how one construes line 12. That we have there an aor pass infin of φέρω or one of its many compounds is well-nigh certain. But which one? Equally uncertain is whether to read what follows as dat or gen. If one selects, for example, συν- or προσενεχθῆναι + dat, one might conclude that Jambres is told by Jannes to launch an attack. Yet asses, mules and camels would scarcely be one's first choice for a military operation. The text, however, is fragmentary. A sensible meaning with the genitive poses a serious problem, no matter what compound one chooses. If we posit that Jannes, being very ill and probably still in Memphis (cf. 4a + →), tells his brother that he wishes to be brought home, an entirely different scenario emerges. In that case, the animals may have functioned primarily as beasts of burden, especially if, since Egypt's king and army had just been destroyed, the brothers plausibly needed provisions for the continuation of the struggle. Moreover, according to the Macarius tradition (see I.3.38 and *Notes* on 1cd + ↓), the magicians stored away much treasure at their private residence, but precisely when this was thought to have been done we do not know. On balance, the second scenario seems the more likely, since either alive or dead Jannes will have to have been conveyed home before his burial on 5a + →.

1-2 We have already indicated at various points that Jannes' illness is best described as leprosy, and quite probably what Greek medical writers would have labeled elephant or elephantiasis, the description of which reflects by and large Hansen's disease (see LTP p. 4). Thus

far we have been told that his disease is fatal (3a + →, Vienna B), characterized by ulceration (*ibid.*), and loss of hair (4a + →). Our present passage states unmistakably that his illness has affected his whole body, and that he is in considerable discomfort. What it is precisely that causes his agony is not clear but may plausibly be related to some particulars of his disease. Commenting on neuritis LTP states,

... in addition to nerve pain all the tissues in which there are histological change are acutely tender, and the slightest knock, or even stroking, may cause excruciating suffering. This acute tenderness is accompanied by marked subjective feelings in the form of pricking pain, burning pain, and a feeling of itchiness, which has been described by patients as 'a deep non-scratch-itch'. (p. 412)

Job 2:7 bears comparison in passing: καὶ ἔπαισεν [ὁ διάβολος] τὸν Ἰὼβ ἔλκει πονηρῷ ἀπὸ ποδῶν ἕως κεφαλῆς. For itchiness as the result of the sixth plague see Ginzberg 2, 344. Though *ταράσσω* does not specifically refer to itching, it may well include it. Interestingly, Artapanus (Frag 3) relates that 'Pharaoh' Chenephres, the husband of Moses' stepmother, who made an attempt on Moses' life, was the first to die of elephantiasis (which is leprosy and not to be confused with the modern lymphatic ailment so labeled [see Grmek *Diseases* p. 172f.]). As well, Ginzberg (2, 296-300) gives a digest of rabbinic sources which contain some items of relevance for our story. The Pharaoh who oppressed the Israelites is said to have been afflicted with leprosy, which covered his entire body and kept him in agony for a total of thirteen years. Though his condition steadily deteriorated, it was a chariot accident in Goshen and not the disease that killed him in the final analysis. When he knew that his end was near he chose his successor (see especially ShY 76:25ff.). Though in both these accounts the Pharaoh himself is the victim, the element of transfer from the king to Jannes in our story, to which we called attention earlier, makes them of interest for the Jannes and Jambres tale. Also of interest is that Moses' sister Miriam was smitten with leprosy because of her (and Aaron's) opposition to Moses (Num 12:10), and the Rabbis are said to have claimed that Pharaoh's daughter was leprous (ExR I.23). 1 ἀπόλλυται. Since Jannes seems to be describing his present condition, this form of the verb is preferable to ἀπολείται. The interchange of υ and ι is attested in our papyrus, though it is not as common as the confusion of ι/ει (see I.9). 4 ἀν-. We might possibly restore ἀνθίσταται

αὐτῷ on the assumption that, like the mother in 5a + ↓, Jambres approaches his brother in order to help him, but Jannes refuses such help.

8-9 ὄρκ-. Since ὄρκόω occurs but once in LXX and not at all in NT, while ὀρκίζω is relatively common, we likely have the latter here, but the kind of double accusative construction we seemingly have in our passage (τι τινα) is not attested in biblical Greek, though recognized elsewhere by LSJ. Who administered the oaths to whom is uncertain. The second person reference in line 9 is likely addressed to Jannes by Jambres whose name was erroneously carried over to line 10 by the scribe of our manuscript and whose presence is clear from line 5. Probably, therefore, line 8 forms part of Jambres' statement as well. It is further not impossible to read a med-pas form of ὀρίζω (cf. 3Mac 5:42), but the papyrus favours κ over ι + c.

9 ἄφιλος. What context we have suggests that someone with whom Jannes had been on friendly terms is now perceived as being unfriendly. If that is correct, Moses is an unlikely candidate at this late stage in the struggle. Consequently, is it possible that Jannes is being portrayed as having made a sworn agreement for success against Moses with the powers of darkness, i.e. the devil (cf. *Notes* on 4a + → 21)? Certainly, in view of what has happened not only to Jannes himself (in spite of his success in Pharaoh's presence [see 3a + →]), but also to the king and Egypt's armed forces, a conclusion that this party had not lived up to the terms of the agreement would be entirely warranted.

10-11 τοῦ Ἰάννου . . . στενάξαντος . . . εἶπεν. This construction is attested on two other occasions in our text, namely 5a + ↓ 1-2 and 5a + → 21-22(?). As is clear from BdBF §423(4) but especially Mayser II 3 pp. 68-70), it is rare in literary Greek, though not unknown in biblical Greek including LXX (e.g. Ex 4:21, 5:20, 34:29, Tob 1:4^{GI}, Esth 1:3), and popular in documentary sources. Interestingly, 3Mac 5:27 features a gen abs modifying a (nom) circumstantial participle, which in turn modifies a 3rd sg verb, all with the same referent.

10 στενάξαντος. An adverbial modifier such as ἐν ὀδύνῃ is suggested by the size of the lacuna. στενάζω by itself, furthermore, could hardly convey Jannes' evident agony.

12-13 ὑποζύγια. In the LXX ὑποζύγιον as a translation of Hebrew חמור (and once ארנא) means "ass" exclusively. In both NT occurrences (Mt 21:5, 2Pet 2:16) the same is true. However, since our text speaks later of πῶλοι (see below), ὑποζύγιον here is likely to mean "mule" as it often does in extra-biblical literature, unless, of course, the focus is

entirely on the function of the animal rather than on its biological traits, i.e. asses as pack-animals in distinction from asses for riding.

14 πῶλους. As a translation of Hebrew עֵי πῶλος in the LXX means only “ass,” even though in Greek literature generally it can refer to the offspring of a variety of animals and can even be used for the human species as LSJ shows. An interesting example of πῶλος meaning “young mule” is CPJ 1 no. 5: πῶλους ἐξ ἡμιοναγρίου δύο. These wild mules’ foals were sent by Toubias to King Ptolemy (II). All NT references are in connection with Jesus’ triumphal entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday (Mt 21:2ff., Mk 11:2ff., Lk 19:30ff., Jn 12:15). Evidently, a πῶλος is old enough to be ridden as is shown by the NT as well as by Judg 10:4, 12:14 and Zech 9:9. Indeed πῶλον νέον of Zech 9:9 and Gen 32:15 which speaks of πῶλοι (stallions) alongside of ὄνοι (mares) suggest that sex was more distinctive than age. Cf. also Mt 21:5 where the πῶλος is called a υἱὸν ὑποζυγίου. In the *Acts of St. Catherine* (Text B §11) we read: περὶ δὲ τῶν ὀρέων ἔλεξεν Ἰαννῆς καὶ Ἰαμβρῆς σημαίνοντες τὸ σημεῖον τῆς φάτνης τοῦ κυρίου. M. R. James (LAOT p. 34) took this passage to mean that *Jannes and Jambres* may have contained “Messianic, even Christian, predictions.” Influenced no doubt by φάτνη James suggested “mules” in place of the puzzling ὀρέων, even though it is difficult to see how ἡμιόνων (or ὑποζυγίων) could have been corrupted to ὀρέων. Nevertheless, animals of some kind are clearly needed in the context. Not impossibly the present page provided the occasion for the piece of eisegesis in ActsCath. As we have noted, a πῶλος plays an important role in all four Gospel accounts of the triumphal entry. To be sure the entry event cannot be equated with the manger scene but some connection might easily be forged via φάτνη and πῶλος. This is precisely what is suggested by Pseudo-Athanasius *Profecti in pagum* 7, 10, 2-3: καὶ τάχα διὰ τοῦτον τὸν πῶλον ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐπὶ φάτνης ἀνακλίνεται (ed. Nordberg); and further Pseudo-Chrysostom *In annuntiationem sanctissimae deiparae* (PG 60, 755), who explicitly connects the two events in Jesus’ life. Finally, a corruption in ActsCath from ΤΩΝΠΩΛΩΝ to ΤΩΝΟΡ(Ε)ΩΝ is not impossible.

TRANSCRIBED TEXT

Frame 5 ↓ a, b, c, f, j, p

a		b	
1		τουϊωαννουακουσα	
2	ασαειπενπ	βασιλεωσπαρηγορησ	
3	υαποκριθιδε	αλλωνφιλωνεκρα	
4	νπροσμεασχολ	γουςαμηκαιουϊοσμουϊ	
5	ι κ η τ		
f		c	
1	ν	επορε	
2	υσαμητ ρω	υσαδεμητ	
3	τωφιληα αυτονθα υα	εθαυμασενκ	
4	εναπαυτησκαιεστ μακρ	νοειαυτωκαιμο	
5	τηαποστητιμητηρδ αιερ	νπρορηκιγαρ	
6	διατοπυρδυναμ	ωλασα	
7	πολλημητηρηδε		
8	ρωπ πασα		
9	γεςκυλησμητη	j	p
10	ιανουκολ	1 νημ	γο
11	καιονι ασινμεγ	2 αναυ	ελθ
12	τωελεουσμαιπρος	3	υε
13	ρω ετηελε		
14	ρονκαι		
15	κραυα		
16	ιμονιο		
17	πλανα		

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

Frame 5abcfp↓

top of page

- τοῦ Ἰωάννου ἀκούσα[ντος τὰ περὶ τοῦ
 βασιλέως παρηγόρησ[εν πάντων τῶν
 ἄλλων φίλων· ἔκραξεν δὲ ἡ μήτηρ λέ-
 γουσα· Μὴ καὶ ὁ υἱός μου Ἰ[.....]..
 5]επορε[
]υσα δὲ ἡ μήτηρ
] ἐθαύμασεν κ[αὶ
] νοεὶ αὐτῷ καὶ μο[ι
] ν προηρήκει γὰρ [
 10 ν[. . .]... ωλασα[..
].. [.]υσα ἡ μήτηρ ᾧ[δοποιήσατο
 αὐ]τῷ φιλήσα[ι] αὐτόν· θα[. . .] υσα[ς δὲ.....
 ..]εν ἀπ' αὐτῆς καὶ ἔστ[η] μακρ[ὰν καὶ εἶπεν
 αὐ]τῇ· Ἀποστῇτι, μήτηρ, δ[. . .] α ἱερ[.....
 15 ..] διὰ τὸ πῦρ οὐ δύναμ[αι.....].. [. . .]
 ..]. πόλλη, μήτηρ· ἡ δὲ [.....] ασα εἶπεν· Π[
 ...].ρω π[....] πασα[..] νο[. . .] υ· ἀποκριθὶς δὲ. [
 εἶπε]ν· Ἐσκύλης, μήτηρ, ἐλθ[εῖν] πρὸς με ἀσχολ[ου-
 μένη λ]ίαν οὐκοῦλ..... υε[. . .] κ.. η. τ.[. . .] [
 20] καὶ ὀν[δίκ]ασιν με γ[.....
 εἶπεν αὐ]τῷ· Ἐλεύσομαι πρὸς [σε.....
] ρω[. . .] ετηελε. [.....
] ρον καὶ[.....
] ἐ]κραύα[σεν.....
 25] δα]ιμόνιο[ν.....
] πλανά[.....

bottom of page

9 rd προηρηκει 14 rd αποστηθι 17 υ*vid zero^c rd
 αποκριθεις 20 rd ωνειδικασιν

When Johannes heard what had happened to the
 king he comforted all the
 other friends. But the mother cried out

- saying, "Is not also my son J . . .
- 5 . . .
 . . . But . . . the mother
 . . . marveled and
 . . . disposed toward him and me
 . . . for . . . had decided
- 10 . . .
 . . . the mother made her way to
 him to kiss him but he . . .
 from her, and stood at a distance and said
 to her, "Keep away, mother, . . .
- 15 . . . on account of the fire I am not able . . .
 . . . is severe, mother"; but she . . . said, ". . .
 . . . every one" Then in reply he
 said, "You took the trouble, mother, to come to me
 busying yourself very much . . .
- 20 . . . and they have reviled me" She
 said to him, "I will come to you . . .
 . . .
 . . .
 . . . cried out . . .
- 25 . . . demon . . .
 . . . astray . . .

Notes:

The $\downarrow \rightarrow$ order of at least fragment b is assured by the binding hole in the inside margin and is further substantiated by the text. Whereas on 5b $\rightarrow$ Jannes has evidently died and is mourned by his mother, on 5b $\downarrow$ he is still alive. That the page order has changed from the preceding more than likely means that we are now past the mid point of the document (see I.8). What other fragments in Frame 5 belong with b is uncertain. Obviously, more has been framed together than can realistically have constituted a single folio. Since f $\rightarrow$ speaks of Jambres burying his mother who on f $\downarrow$ and evidently on both sides of b is still alive, f must follow b and its order, like that of b, is $\downarrow \rightarrow$. Fragments a and p in turn probably belong with f (see further below). What additional fragments may plausibly be associated with abfp is not obvious. Fragment c which on $\downarrow$ mentions the mother, probably still active, and on $\rightarrow$ speaks of Jambres and

makes reference to mourning and, moreover, has someone (Jambres?) say that he has been deprived, would seem to be a good candidate. The last named item would be fitting reaction to Jannes' death. The chief problem with including c is that it creates a written page of 26 lines, five more than, for example, 4a + →. Nevertheless, not only is it noticeable at a glance that the fragments in question have been more densely written than those of 4a +, the scribe also significantly intruded on the lower margin, in fact by at least three lines on ↓ and two on →. (The lower edge appears to be substantially in tact.) Furthermore, assured reconstruction and integration of a → + f → vividly demonstrates that both ↓ and → read a larger number of letters per line than is the case on earlier pages. We have therefore concluded that both vertically and horizontally the inscribed surface of 5a + must have been extraordinarily large. Consequently, we have felt justified in including c with abfp. Of the major fragments, that leaves d e g and h. Two of these, d ↓ → and h ↓, feature ἄνθρωπος written as *nomen sacrum*. Its use is no doubt secular rather than sacral, and it may be more at home in Jannes' paenitentia from Hades than in the context of fragments abcfp, which focus on Jannes' death and its immediate aftermath. (Admittedly, however, we already have an instance of the contracted form in 1cd + → 19.) Moreover, on both sides of d the *nomen sacrum* seems to be preceded by an adjective in the superlative, which might plausibly be construed to mean that Jannes (once he is in Hades) confesses himself to be "the most wicked of men" or some such phrase. The darkened fibers as well as the left-hand margin on g ↓ associate this fragment with d. However, if our assumption about the appropriateness of the *nomen sacrum* in the paenitentia is correct, some conclusions regarding its content may follow through a series of associations. While d → ↓ and h ↓ have the *nomen sacrum*, d ↓ also speaks of "the vine" (ἡ ἄμπε[λος]) which in turn may be linked with "the olive-tree" (τῆς ἐλαίας) of e ↓ and "the leaf" (τὸ φύλλ[ον]) of g ↓—in fact it is not impossible that e and g should be placed side by side so as to read τὸ φύλλ[ον]/ν τῆς ἐλαίας. Secondly, h ↓ along with the *nomen sacrum* also reads "the king" (ὁ βασιλ[εύς]) which in turn may connect it with "the kings (of Egypt?)" (οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς Α[ἰγύπτου]) of e ↓. Thirdly, d → not only has the *nomen sacrum* but also seemingly says that someone "died" (ἀπέθανεν). This same item is found on g ↓ (ἀπέθανεν, ἀπέθ[αν-]), k → (ἀπέθαν[] and k ↓ (ἀπέθ[]) (cf. also ἀπέκτειν[] of e →). Finally, d ↓ has reference to

“Egypt” (Αἰγύπτου) and k↓ speaks of “(the) chiefs” (οἱ μεγάλοι[ᾱνες]). It is at least suggestive that these various interrelationships (if such they are) forge a link among fragments d e g h k. If the nomen sacrum belongs especially in the paenitentia, the latter seems to have contained some kind of retrospective account in which the words and phrases we have noted played a role. On the other hand, if our assumption regarding the nomen sacrum is incorrect, the folio of d e g h k presumably preceded 5abcfp. One important last point to be made is that, on the basis of interlinear spacing, fragments d e g h i k-o show themselves incompatible with abcfp though compatible with each other. Consequently, the link we have sought to establish, based on content association, is hereby confirmed and the group has been expanded to include in addition i l m n o. If we use the present criterion, only j can further be associated with abcfp.

One clearly incorrect join was made in this frame (see Plates 9-10). As is best shown by the → side, the fragment joined to the top right-hand side of f needs to be moved to the right circa 6 mm or the equivalent of one and a half to two letters.

1 Ἰωάννου. This spelling of Jannes’ name occurs only here in the extant fragments of P. Chester Beatty XVI. For a general discussion of the names of the two magicians see I.4. τοῦ Ἰωάννου

ἀκούσαντος... παρηγόρησεν. For this construction see *Notes* on 2h3g↓ 10.

2 παρηγόρησεν. In LXX this verb occurs only in 4Mac 12:3 and not at all in NT. Among the “younger” Bible translators Symmachus seems to have had a predilection for it, since it is attested for him at least ten times (Job 7:13, 16:2, Ps 68:21, 76:3, Isa 40:1(2x), 51:12, 18, Lam 1:2, Ezek 16:54). However, it is not elsewhere followed by a complement in the genitive. To read a passive followed by ὑπὸ may be preferable but means changing the clear σ into a θ. Moreover, from a narrative point of view one would expect Jannes to continue to play the lead role.

3 φίλων. How this word is to be interpreted depends largely on what one perceives to be the setting of the current episode. If it is the royal palace in Memphis, the “other friends” (presumably along with Jannes himself) belong to a category of courtiers familiar from Hellenistic courts. If, on the other hand, the scene is set at Jannes’ private residence, as seems more likely in view of what follows, these individuals are no doubt the same group to which he bade farewell on 4a + →. The story of Haman who had both wife and friends (cf. Esth 5:10, 14, 6:13) bears comparison. The significance of “other” is not

obvious. If the setting is the palace, it would plausibly signal the inclusion of Jannes among the Friends. ἐκραξεν. Also possible is the rarer verb ἐκραύασεν (= ἐκραύγασεν) which appears in

line 24. 4 'I-. Which of the two brothers is the object of the

mother's concern we do not know for certain. It may be that she is expressing the fear that Jambres has accompanied the king in pursuit of the Hebrews and that he, consequently, has shared his master's fate. In that case, she presumably learns that Jambres is safe. The clause introduced by μὴ may then be construed as a question anticipating a negative reply. However, the resulting rapid transitions from Jannes to Jambres and back again to Jannes do not encourage this interpretation. We have therefore postulated that the individual in question is Jannes rather than Jambres. Perhaps the mother voices the thought that Jannes' own impending demise will spell further disaster. Moreover, as has been noted in other connections, Jannes is patently the central personage in the tale and it is patently his corpse that is being addressed by the mother in the initial lines of the following page, since Jambres lives to bury her. If such is the case, a death scene of some description is needed in what precedes, and such seems indeed to be sketched in lines 11ff. of the present page, though not all the particulars have been preserved. Obviously, the mother tries to be of assistance in Jannes' final moments. She wants to kiss him (farewell?), makes an attempt to approach him, but is told to keep away, presumably lest she perish with him. (As 5a + → will show, she did not in fact escape harm.) Of some importance is the meaning of διὰ τὸ πῦρ in line 15. Since earlier in the narrative (3a + → 13) mention is made of Jannes' serious illness (θάνατος) which, as was suggested, is a form of leprosy, it may be tempting to interpret πῦρ as "fever," a meaning which, according to LSJ, it can bear. (For a concrete example see Ant 17, 168 where Josephus recounts the death of Herod the Great.) In biblical literature, however, the word for "fever" is consistently πυρετός (Deut 28:22, Mt 8:15 = Mk 1:31 = Lk 4:38, Jn 4:52, Acts 28:8). Yet, an obstacle to such an interpretation might be that, if πῦρ means "fever," the author of our tale, contrary to common perceptions on leprosy, must have portrayed Jannes' illness as acute rather than chronic. But perhaps more importantly, the reprieve of fixed duration, which Jannes was granted (2a↓ 13), militates against his dying as a result of his illness. The epiphany of the extra-terrestrial envoys on 2a↓ has prepared the reader for a more drama-

tic exit than death by disease. Moreover, the bits and pieces we can read on the tattered fragments of our present page give the impression of a more violent end. The mother's outcry in line 4 that, already deprived of the king, she will soon be without her son as well (note adverbial καὶ in line 4) would become understandable in light of the reprieve. Jannes certainly, and his mother possibly, knew when his time was up. If πῦρ, then, is taken in a more literal sense, and not improbably connotes thunder and lightning, our picture may begin to look more like a Faustian departure scene with its meteorological disturbances, violent treatment and shrieks of the devil's victim. Indeed line 24 speaks of someone uttering shrieks and the next line may indicate that a demon was present. That Jannes as a μάγος would possess or would be possessed by a demon is a foregone conclusion. The magical papyri contain a number of prescriptions for the acquisition of such a demon or spirit. (Cf., e.g., PGM I 55ff.) As Faust's allotted twenty-four years elapsed, so Jannes' fourteen days (?) of reprieve came to an end. The time has now come for him to be transferred to Hades. The drama of the entire scene is underscored by the use of μήτηρ as vocative at least three times in the space of five lines (14, 16, 18). The same dramatic use is made of τέκνον in the mother's lament addressed to Jannes' corpse (5a + → 2, 4). If, as has been argued, πῦρ means "fire" instead of "fever," the immediate cause of Jannes' death, as we have already suggested, was not his θάνατος but a conflagration, which may have incinerated his house and him therewith. 12 φιλησαι. As ap-

parently in 4a → 14 (versus Vienna), the simplex form of the verb is used.

12-13 δὲ. A verb such as ἀπέδραμεν ("he withdrew") would be appropriate. What precedes should be a masc sg partic.

14, 16, 18 μήτηρ. For this form of the vocative see Gignac 2, 62.

11-14. For confirmation of the incorrect join see 5 →.

15-19 The placement of fragments a and p is based largely on 5 →. For a discussion see below.

16 πόλλη. The entire phrase may have run ἡ φλόξ πόλλη ("the flame is intense").

24 ἐκραύασεν. The verb κραυάζω may be a collateral form of κραυγάζω (cf. Thackeray p. 113). The longer form occurs in Tob 2:13^{GI}, 2Esdr 3:13, Symmachus Job 19:7, Mt 12:19, Lk 4:41, Jn 11:43, 12:13, 18:40, 19:6, 12, Acts 22:23. In view of the restored δαιμόνιον in line 25 it may be of interest to note that in Lk 4:41 κραυγάζω is used to describe the shrieking of demons. It may be more probable, however, that the shrieks were uttered by the dying

Jannes. **25** δαιμόνιον. It is of interest that a TLG search on the extant sequence of letters turned up δαιμόνιον as the only realistic option.

TRANSCRIBED TEXT

Frame 5 → a, b, c, f, j, p

a		b	
1	οιξααταβ	ςνεκρουσειδονκαιιουδις	
2	γ ^ν εκρυομαντ	κοιτεκνονενταυ α ηςο	
3	οειδωλοντουαδ	ξηλλαγη ^ς ετοειδοσσυ	
4	τουϊαννουειπεν	εκνοννεκροσσηγαρ	
5	εγενουκαι	καιταχιλησουουκινιται	
6		γαλοιςουουκαπτ	
f		c	
1	πε	κ	
2	εγ οπνευμα	ιαμβρησα	
3	νμη ραυτουκα διε	καικλαυς	
4	ομν ιοντουαδ φουαυτουκ	εστερηθηγ	
5	τηνερ μμενηννεκρανκαιπ	ψασπασαναλ	
6	παντ ανομιμαεθαψεναυτ	κακαιχρηματ	
7	ηνμητεραοιαμβ	ιογεποη	
8	τηςμηλ ^{αε} ς ^ε ποη		
9	νηνεγκενεκτ	j	p
10	υτουκαιαποκρ	1	
11	φωιαμβρηδια	2	εται φου
12	ουκετ	3	ιςινα τω
13	διατιουδυν ποι	4	ωζ
14	ατεκαιιοι ςμο		
15	ρωεωσπ δος		
16	καιδιαν		
17	δωκα		
18	το ^ς ε		

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

Frame 5abcfp→

top of page

- ἄλλου]ς νεκροὺς εἶδον καὶ οὐδὶς
 ἦν παραπλήσιος] σοί, τέκνον, ἐνταῦ[θ]α ἡσο
 ἐ]ξηλλάγη [[c]] [δ]ὲ τὸ εἶδός σου
, τ]έκνον, νεκρὸς σί· ἡ γὰρ
 5] καὶ τὰ χίλη σου οὐ κινῖται·
 κ[αὶ πάντες οἱ ἀστρά]γαλοί σου οὐκ ἄπτ[ονται·
 Ἰάμβρης ἀ[.....
 καὶ κλαύσ[ας.....
 ἐστερήθηγ [.....
 10 ψαcπασαναλ[.....
 κα και χρήματ[.....
 ..]ιον ἐποίη[σ.....]πε[.....
 ... ἐξέλιπ[εγ [τ]ὸ πνεῦμα [αὐτῆς.....
 τῇ]ν μη[τέ]ρα αὐτοῦ κα[ὶ] διε[κόμισεν αὐ-
 15 τὴν εἰς τ]ὸ μν[ημ]ῖον τοῦ ἀδ[ελ]φοῦ αὐτοῦ κ[αὶ]
] τὴν ἐρ[ρι]μμένην νεκρὰν καὶ π[οιήσ]-
 ας.....] πάντ[α τ]ὰ νόμιμα ἔθαψεν αὐτ[ὴ]ν
 τ]ὴν μητέρα ὁ Ἰάμβ[ρης
 ἀν]οίξας τὰ β[ιβλία ὑπὸ] τῆς μηλᾶς ἐποίη[σ]-
 20 ε]γ νεκρομαντ[εῖαν] κα[ὶ] ἀ]νήνεγκεν ἐκ τ[οῦ] ἔδου
 τ]ὸ εἶδωλον τοῦ ἀδ[ελ]φοῦ [α]ὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποκρ[ιθεντος
 τοῦ Ἰάννου εἶπεν τῷ ἀ[δελ]φῷ Ἰάμβρω· Διὰ [τί...
 ..]. ἐγένου καὶ [.]..... [.] οὐκ ἔτ[ι].....
] διὰ τί οὐ δύν[ασαι] ποι[ῆσαι]...
 25] α τε καὶ ὁ οἵ[κός] μο[υ].....
]. ρω ἔως π[ότε] δοc[.....
 καὶ διὰ ν[.....
]δωκα [.....
] τότε [.....

bottom of page

- | | | | |
|---------------|----------------|---------------|---------------------|
| 1 rd ουδεις | 4' rd συ | 5 rd χειλη | rd κινειται |
| 6 rd ουχ | 15 rd μνημειον | 19 rd μηλεας: | |
| μηλς*vid | ποι* | 20 εκρυομ.* | rd νεκρομαντειαν or |
| νεκυομαντειαν | 29 τοc* | | |

- ... , other corpses I have seen and none
 resembled you, child. Here lie
 ... but your appearance has been utterly changed
 ... , child, you are a corpse, for your
- 5 ... and your lips do not move
 and all your vertebrae are disconnected.”
 But Jambres...
 and mourning...
 I was deprived...
- 10 ...
 ... and money...
 ... made...
 ... her spirit failed...
 ... his mother and brought
- 15 her to the tomb of his brother and
 ... the tossed corpse and when he
 had performed... all the rites he buried her
 ... his mother Jambres,
 after opening the books under the apple tree, per-
- 20 formed necromancy and brought up from Hades
 the shade of his brother and Jannes
 said in reply to brother Jambres, “Why...
 were you... and... no longer
 ... why are you unable to do...
- 25 ... and my house...
 ... how long...
 ... and on account of...
 ... I handed over...
 ... then...

Notes:

As is evident this page counts even more lines of text than the preceding one. Though the scribe ends his column one line higher, he also commences it a line higher, and in between squeezes his lines together more tightly than he has done thus far. Similarly, his number of letters per line reaches a new high on this page. Thus line 21, which can be reconstructed with confidence, counts 39. Even though there can be no doubt that our text runs overleaf from ↓ to →, the precise connection is not now transparent. However, that it is the

mother who, while on ↓ attempting to assist her dying son, in the initial lines of → is addressing his corpse is scarcely open to question. A lament similar in tone is given by Lucian of Samosata in his essay *On Funerals* in which he gives a detailed, though derisive, account of funeral rites and practices on the part of “the common herd” (ὁ πολὺς ὄμιλος). Portraying a scene in which a youth has died, Lucian says that the father or mother throws himself/herself on the corpse and in plaintive strains addresses the departed (not surprisingly using the same form of address [τέκνον] as we find in our passage) (13). The earlier part of Lucian’s essay is of interest for popular Graeco-Roman beliefs about death and the hereafter. In a more serious vein, Achilles Tatius 1.13 gives a lament of a father over his son who has become disfigured through accidental death, which, like our account here, includes a mournful comparison with other corpses. Within biblical literature one is reminded of David’s lament over his son Absalom (2Sam 18:33). 1 ἄλλους. This reading seems preferable to the definite article since there is no indication in our text that Jannes died together with his adherents. That some of these became casualties in the struggle is not *per se* unlikely but what remains of the book gives us no information on that score. From the traditions we have the statement of Philostorgius who, however, does not go beyond the biblical text (see Ex 9:11): Μωσῆς . . . τοὺς περὶ Ἰαννὴν καὶ Ἰαμβρὴν ἐν ἑλκεσι κολασάμενος . . . (FPG p. 69). Furthermore, it is not stated that they died. GNic = ActsPil A 5:1 does state, however: καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐποίησαν οὐκ ἦσαν ἐκ θεοῦ, ἀπώλοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ πιστεύοντες αὐτοῖς. The B text, however, makes no mention of the adherents. But how and when these supporters died is not stated. In the present context the mother seems to be making a statement based on her general experience, comparing the corpse of her son with other corpses she has viewed. There is no indication that she is referring specifically to the victims of the tenth plague. ἦσο. The possibilities here are limited to three: the 2nd sg impf of εἰμί (ἦσο), the 2nd sg impf or 2nd sg imper of ἤμαι (ἦσο). The latter verb in its simplex form does not occur in LXX or NT, and in Ptolemaic papyri, according to Gignac 2, 413⁵ citing Mayser, is limited to poetry. In fact, in Greek literature generally ἤμαι is virtually exclusively poetic and is predominantly found in Homer. Furthermore, ἐνταῦθα ἦσο of our text is reminiscent of Homer’s ἐνταυθοῖ νῦν ἦσο (Od. 18.105, 20.262). Since Jannes is dead the meaning of the verb here must be

“rest/lie” rather than “sit,” as is the case in Homer. That it can have this meaning is illustrated by dedicatory epigrams (AG 6, 52. 128; see Paton vol. 1). Weapons are told to “rest” (ῆσο) from their labours. It is noteworthy, though scarcely surprising, that the author of our book should resort to poetic language in the mother’s lament over her son. Perhaps the phrase in question was followed by ἐν εἰρήνῃ. For this in connection with death and dying see, for example, Isa 57:2, Jer 41:5, Tob 14:1^{GI}, Sir 44:14. It is also common in ancient Jewish epitaphs (cf. Van der Horst p. 115ff.). A sentiment such as we have posited, namely, that Jannes might have peace now that he is dead, would be appropriate after his painful struggle. But, ironically, as the sequel shows, not even in death was Jannes to have peace. Also possible as a restoration is ἐν σιωπῇ, partly because ἡμῖ + σιωπῇ is likewise a Homeric phrase (Il. 4.412, 9.190), but more importantly, because Jannes’ present silence was apparently of some interest (cf. line 5). 3 ἐξηλλάγη.

What immediately follows this word is uncertain. We have assumed that the scribe crossed out a ζ, having mistakenly written the verb as 2nd sg. The strengthened form of ἀλλάσσω occurs but twice in biblical literature, Gen 45:22 and WisSol 2:15. There is here no reason to believe that it depicts a magically induced metamorphosis. (For a formula to bring about the latter see PGM XIII 273ff.) Rather, it must indicate that Jannes’ corpse is virtually beyond recognition. A similar statement may already have been made in lines 1-2, when the mother laments that her son’s corpse is unlike any she has ever seen. Two reasons for the state of Jannes’ corpse present themselves. The disfigurement may be attributable to the disease from which Jannes was suffering, since leprosy is a well-known cause of horrid deformity. A second cause may be the conflagration which has just occurred. Not improbably it was a combination of both, with prime focus on the latter. Again we may have here an adumbration of the treatment of the body of Faust by the devil. The lament then passes from disfigurement to a more neutral description of a corpse. 4 ἡ. Both the parallel of “lips” in line 5 and the gender of the article suggest ἡ. . . γλῶσσά σου οὐ λαλεῖ.

For this expression see Job 33:2 and Ps 36:30. 6 ἀστράγαλοι. Though the reading is reasonably certain the precise meaning of this word is not. According to LSJ ἀστράγαλος has essentially two meanings when applied to human anatomy: 1. one of the vertebrae, especially of the neck, and 2. the ball of the ankle joint. Modern

Greek corresponds to the latter. Both these meanings are also found in biblical Greek. Zech 11:16 reads καὶ τοὺς ἀστραγάλους αὐτῶν ἐκστρέψει. Though MT speaks of even the hoofs (פֶּסַח) being devoured, LXX must surely mean that the shepherd will wring the sheep's necks. In Ezek 47:3 Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion all read . . . διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος ἕως ἀστραγάλων (Hebrew שֶׁסֶם), i.e. ankle-deep water. Yet a third meaning is represented by DanTheod 5:5, 24, the first of which speaks of τοὺς ἀστραγάλους τῆς χειρός and the second reads ἀστράγαλος χειρός. In both cases ἀστράγαλος represents Aramaic (ܐܣܬܪܐܓܐܠ) which is thought to refer here to the back of the hand or the entire hand below the wrist (cf. Holladay, *Lexicon*). But even apart from the uncertainty of the Aramaic it should be obvious that the Greek can scarcely have reference either to the ankle or to the neck. "Wrist" as given by LSJ for Daniel is also problematic because of the plural in vs 5. More probably the word refers primarily to the knuckles as the most prominent feature of the hand when writing. It is further possible that a meaning similar to Daniel is to be assigned to the Aquila text of Gen 37:3, χιτῶνα ἀστράγαλον, a coat with sleeves to the knuckles or hand. MT interestingly has שֶׁסֶם which corresponds to Dan 5:5, 24. However, a coat to the ankles is not impossible. None of the above meanings makes obvious sense in our context, since the verb must be an unaspirated form of ἄπτομαι. Nothing else is realistically available. The first meaning (vertebrae), however, offers perhaps the best possibilities. The text would then presumably mean that the vertebrae of Jannes' spinal column have all been wrenched out of position. **13** ἐξέλιπεν τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῆς. For this idiom cf. Ps 72:26, 83:3, 106:5, 142:7, Jer 4:31, Tob 14:11. That the mother died during the course of operations is also stated by Philostorgius (FPG p. 69). He adds, however, that Moses sent her to her death (. . . τῷ θανάτῳ παρεπέμψατο). That Moses was the indirect cause of her death is, of course, implicit in our story as a whole, but that he was directly responsible seems unlikely. More probably she died as a result of injuries received when attempting to assist Jannes. That she came to a violent end is moreover clear from line 16 (see below). **14** διεκόμισεν. For this word in an identical context see Artapanus 3.15, according to which Moses and Chanethothes transport the body of Merris (Moses' stepmother) to Upper-Egypt for burial. **15** τὸ μνημεῖον. The tomb of Jannes and Jambres we have already encountered in the Macarius tradition (see *Notes* on 1cd3h4c1).

16 ἔρριμμένην. This epithet is frequently used of persons who have died a violent death (cf. Judg 4:22B, Jdt 14:15, 3Rgns 13:24, 25, 28, Ps 87:6, Tob 1:17) and such is probably the case here (cf. Philostorgius above). Jambres has brought her body to Jannes' tomb and prepares her tossed corpse for the final rites. A word such as ἔλαβεν would neatly fill the preceding lacuna. 17 νόμιμα. A frequent word in LXX, it is not used there for funeral rites, though such a meaning is attested in LSJ for Thucydides (v BC) and Dinarchus (iv/iii BC). The more common phrase is τὰ νομιζόμενα (or τὰ νενομισμένα). As far as we can tell, no such rites are mentioned for Jannes but, if so, this may be because the mother's funeral is propaedeutic to the necromancy scene and hence treated more elaborately. What the νόμιμα were comprised of is not delineated. For popular Greek funerary practice see Lucian of Samosata's *On Funerals* 10-24. 19-23. The placement of Frag a creates a number of discrepancies between P. Chester Beatty XVI and the Latin text (see IV below). The opening lines of the latter run as follows:

Aperuit Mambres libros magicos fratris sui Iamnis et fecit necromantiam et eduxit ab inferis idolum fratris sui. Respondit ei anima Iamnis dicens: Ego frater tuus non iniuste mortuus sum. Sed uere iuste.

Mambres opened the magical books of his brother Jamnes and performed necromancy and brought up from the netherworld the shade of his brother. The soul of Jamnes replied to him as follows: I your brother did not die unjustly. But indeed justly.

Some of the differences in these lines, between the Latin and the Greek texts, can be adequately accounted for on the basis of the new context (or lack thereof) of the Latin excerpt. That is to say, more explicit detail than was necessary in the original book of Jannes and Jambres would obviously be required in the passage's new setting, namely, an assortment of unrelated texts (plus illuminations). Furthermore, even if Frag a were reconstructed independently from f, it would be impossible to accommodate all the elements of the Latin. Thus, considerable divergence in wording must have existed in any case. Secondly, according to the combined text of a + f the necromancy was performed "under the apple-tree," while the illustration accompanying the Latin has Jambres standing on a mountain top, pointing the viewer to an open book facing the latter (Plate 19). It is doubtful, however, that the details of the picture are based on the narrative. Like the verbal adaptations, the mountain scene

is again an accommodation of the excerpt to its new setting. Both immediately preceding illustrations, in the eleventh century collection of eastern marvels, depict mountains, on one of which could be found, according to the text, griffins and the like, and on the other inaccessible *homines nigri*. Thirdly, line length in the Greek at first glance is somewhat of a problem but, as we have already argued, the entire page represented here was more densely written than any of the preceding ones. Letter and line counts clearly cannot tell the whole story. Fourthly, the almost complete lack of correspondence between the two texts beyond the opening lines of the Latin is incontrovertible. There is no question that this is by far the most weighty obstacle to our placement, and it is difficult to see how this problem can be solved. In the present context we simply reiterate that even Frag a by itself shows diversion from the Latin. Whereas the last line of Frag a reads ἐγένου καὶ or possibly the imperative instead, this phrase finds no equivalent in the Latin, no matter how valiantly one may try to find one. Fifthly, unless Frag a belongs where we have placed it, we are forced to conclude that necromancy was performed on at least two different occasions, since on Frag a → Jannes' shade is conjured up and on f → Jannes speaks to Jambres after his death. In view of the climactic role the act of necromancy plays in our story, such a double occurrence is highly improbable. Moreover, although on a↓ the mother is still speaking and is answered apparently by Jannes, on a → he is dead. This raises the pointed question: If f and a do not belong together, then where can the latter possibly belong? In conclusion, it should be noted that both sides of a and f integrate well; consequently, our placement has every appearance of being correct, the Latin notwithstanding.

19 ἀνοίξας τὰ βιβλία. A reading of . . . τὰς βίβλους is not impossible but rather long. Jambres opens the books perhaps to find the appropriate conjuration to get possession of (or be possessed by) Jannes' spirit. Since Jannes had come to an untimely death his shade would possess great power. The magical texts often speak of those who died such a death (ἄωροι) or who met a violent end (βίαιοι or βαιοθάνατοι). The vicinity of Jannes' tomb would, moreover, be suitable for either the procurement of his spirit or the obtaining of knowledge from the world to come. As we have already noted (*Notes* on 4a + →), the books here in question, unlike the document entrusted by Jannes to Jambres, were not kept in Memphis and therefore cannot have been identical with it. τῆς μηλέας. Several times on f → the scribe

made mistakes but no word was botched as badly as the present one. In his attempt at correcting his gaffe, he evidently wrote α over λ and thus ended up with ε and α in reverse position! The reference here must be to 2a→ 9 where we were told that Jannes ordered the wise men who answered his summons to sit “under some apple tree.” The article is here, therefore, anaphoric. Where this tree stood is not explicitly stated but the context would lead one to infer that it was near Jannes’ tomb, which in turn was in the magicians’ paradise, according to the Macarius tradition (see *Notes* on 1cd + ↓).

19-20 ἐποίησεν νεκρομαντείαν. Neither the ritual employed nor the precise time of day the necromancy was performed is apparently deemed of importance by the author of our book. The magical papyri mention a number of rites to be used, such as a prayer to the subterranean powers to release so-and-so, as well as an adjuration by other deities (cf. PGM IV 1455f.). The necromancer no doubt also addressed the εἰδωλον and stated his wish, followed by another adjuration (cf. PGM IV 2180ff.). Necromancies properly took place at night (cf. *Life of Apollonius* 16ff.) but again no indication of time is given in our text. Twice in the Preisendanz corpus we are told that the time propitious for necromancy is when the moon is in Libra (PGM III 278-79, VIII 286). Though it is not impossible that in our text the right time obtained, it seems more likely that the death of the mother rather than the proper night was determinative for the necromancy.

20 νεκρομαντείαν. The spelling of the word in our text is a hybrid of νεκυομαντεία and νεκρομαντεία. The immediate reason for the necromancy is plausibly Jambres’ need to receive instructions now that both his mother and brother are dead and gone, and he is left all alone. The common reason for necromancy was to learn the future but also at times to resolve problems related to the dead person’s personal experience (cf. e.g. *Apollonius* 16ff.). In our book the larger literary purpose, however, is to provide the occasion for Jannes’ confession from hell which in turn would be read, like the end of Faust, as a warning to the readership.

21 εἰδωλον. Throughout LXX and NT this word is used exclusively to label “idols,” i.e. alien gods and their images, and this is also its meaning later in our document (7a↓). Here, however, εἰδωλον carries the sense it normally has in extra-biblical literature, namely, “the less than real” or “the unreal,” especially the “shade” or “phantom” of a person (cf. W. Barnes Tatum, JSJ 17 [1986] 185-86). For some

examples from magical papyri see PGM IV 1468, 1474, 1479, VIII 38. Cf. also *Apollonius* 4, 20 where (as commonly) δαίμων and εἶδωλον are used interchangeably to describe the shade of Achilles. The usual Greek understanding of εἶδωλον is well represented by Lucian of Samosata in his *Dialogues of the Dead* 11(16) where “Heracles-in-Hades” and “Heracles-with-the-gods” are the topic of discussion. One or the other, it is argued, must be an εἶδωλον and therefore not real.

22-29. Judging from what can be read, it appears that Jannes’ shade is upbraiding Jambres, plausibly for being disturbed. As Butler notes (*Ritual Magic* p. 22): “The complaint of being ‘disquieted’ by being brought up [heard for the first time in story of Saul and the witch of Endor]. . . was to be a constant refrain of ghosts constrained to appear before necromancers.” Furthermore, Jambres may not yet have been an experienced magician and, consequently, may not have performed the necromancy as it should have been. Experience was needed to make correct use of the specialized book of magic. These lines also vividly underscore the likelihood that the Latin excerpt does not give us the beginning of Jannes’ speech from hell.

TRANSCRIBED TEXT

Frame 5 ↓ d, e, g, h, i, k-o

	d	e	g
1		τ ταγ	αικαυς
2	ενεγ	εντεεξ	ητοφυλλ
3	αιγυπτουοι	βασιλιςτησα	καιφφαντ
4	ουχηαμπε	νουχικαιαιγ	απεθανεν
5	πουεστιντ	ντηεληας	αυτηενα
6	τατοcᾱν	η	αυτηαπεθ
7	α νε	πουκ	τ
8		εν	
9			
	h	i	k
1	λη	νεγ	μεγιστ
2	πολε	παθα	σαπεθ
3	ιεγεν	νομο	πρωτος
4	τονλεγ		
5	οβασιλ		
6	νυιον		
7	ανθπω		
8	α		
9			
	m	n	o
1	το		υμα
2	ααλλ	εταεθ	οια
3	σοφο		κα
4			το

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

Frame 5deghk↓

-]. [
]ενεγ[
 Αἰγύπτου οἱ[
 οὐχὶ ἡ ἄμπε[λος
 5 ποῦ ἐστὶν τ[
 τατος ἀν[θ(ρω)π
 α[. . .]νε[
-]. λη[
 10]πολε[
]ι ἐγέν[
]τον λεγ[
]. ὁ βασιλ[εὺς καὶ οἱ] μεγιστ[ᾶνες
 τὸ]ν υἱὸν [.]ς ἀπέθ[αν
 15] ἀνθ(ρώ)πῳ[.] πρῶτος [
]. α. [
]. [
- 20]τ. ταγ[
]εντες ε[
]. βασιλῆς τῆς Αἰγύπτου
 ..]αικαυσ[.]ν οὐχὶ καὶ Αἰγ[
 ἦ τὸ φύλλ[ο]ν τῆς ἐλήας [
 25 καὶ ὕφαντ[.]. η.. [
 ἀπέθανεν [..]πουκ[
 αὐτὴ ἐνα[.]. ἐν[
 αὐτὴ ἀπέθ[ανεν
 τ[
- 22 rd βασιλεις (or βασιλῆς) 24 rd ελαιας

. . .
 . . .
 of Egypt . . .

- not the vine . . .
 5 where is . . .
 . . . of men(?) . . .
- . . .
 10 . . . war(?) . . .
 . . .
 . . .
 . . . the king and nobles . . .
 . . . the son . . . died . . .
- 15 . . . man . . . first . . .
 . . .
 . . .
- 20 . . .
 . . .
 . . . the kings of Egypt . . .
 . . . not and Egypt . . .
 or the foliage of the olive . . .
- 25 and woven? . . .
 died . . . where . . .
 she/it . . .
 she/it died . . .

Notes:

Fragment I contains no legible text. In our discussion of 5abcfjp we argued that 5deghik-o cannot have belonged to the same folio but that, instead, the latter group may well have formed two separate pages of Jannes' paenitentia. The questions of page order and placement in the document must now be investigated more fully. In doing so, however, it is necessary to discuss 5d + and 6 together, since their relative order inevitably enters the picture. In neither case can page order be determined from the fragments themselves, and conclusions must, consequently, be based on circumstantial evidence. For 6 it has been argued (see I.8) that if the side margin on f→ were to be taken as an inside margin, a binding hole should have been visible, since the lowest one must have been positioned circa 3.2 cm

from the bottom of the page. (The hole which is visible is not a binding hole.) This is true whether the lower margin was 2.5 cm wide, as is the case for some of our earlier pages or was virtually non-existent as it is on 5a + ↓. It should also be noted in passing that if the f→ margin is an inner margin, the considerable overrun on ↓ would have created serious reading problems, since the ends of the lines would have been difficult to see (see also e and i). Both of these considerations point strongly to a ↓ → order. There can be no doubt that the binding holes in 5b and 7a show the order for these pages to be ↓ →, and since the contents of 6 places it certainly after 5 and probably before 7, the expected order for 6 is likewise ↓ →. The same could then be suggested for 5d + . Additional support for this order may be gleaned from a comparison of line spacing on Frames 5, 6, and 7. To begin, we may note the similarity between 5deghik-o↓→ and 6↓ which in turn is identical with 5abcfjp→. On all four sides the number of lines on an inscribed surface of 18.5 cmH would have been circa 29 lines. This may be usefully compared with circa 26 lines on 5a + ↓, on the one hand, and, on the other, with circa 29 lines on 6→ but, more importantly, with circa 31 and 32 lines respectively on 7↓ and →. The general sequence of the pages in question, which is anchored securely at both ends in details of plot, is, therefore, reasonably clear. In fact, there can be little doubt that the order throughout these frames was ↓ →, as we have suggested. For 5d + and 6 the precise sequence of folios is more difficult to determine. From a purely physical point of view all the fragments in both groups could, to be sure, belong to a single folio; however, this seems unlikely. If then, as seems probable, we have at least two folios (= four pages) what is their order? One might possibly look for a clue to the dual reference to "cubits" in 6↓ lines 3 and 4. This must reflect a similar note in the two closing lines of the Latin text:

... fuerit abitatio tua binis lata cubitis et lingua cubitis quattuor.
 ... your dwelling will be two cubits wide and four cubits long.

What precedes these lines in the Latin would equal circa 15 lines of Greek (at 35 letters per line) of *oratio recta* by Jannes from Hades. Since 5a + → has seven of these, one might conceivably argue, some eight lines would have been written on 6↓. In terms of contents, however, neither on 5a + → nor on 6↓ is correspondence with the Latin in evidence, apart from the reference to "cubits." Though on 6↓ this may be due to the fragmentary nature of our text, such can

hardly explain the lack of correspondence with 5a + →. It is true, of course, that 6e↓ speaks of “sons” and the Latin mentions “your sons and friends,” but the syntax does not correspond. Nor does the Latin text anywhere refer to Egypt, as does 6e↓. This general problem of relationship between the two texts has surfaced previously, and from various angles we are being forced to conclude that relatively little direct correspondence between the Greek and the Latin can be found. Since it is integrally involved in the question under discussion, we need to assess more precisely what this lack of correspondence means. A number of possible answers may be delineated. 1. The Latin text is not an excerpt from the book called *Jannes and Jambres*, or at least not our version of it. One might object, however, that, even though no correspondence apart from “cubits” can be found in Jannes’ speech, the opening lines of the Latin find a very clear parallel in the Greek text. It is true, of course, that the two passages are not identical in every detail; yet, most of the variants in the Latin can be explained as having arisen from the altered setting of the text. 2. The Latin text is a summary of what Jannes said. But here one might counter that the Latin’s literary form (*oratio recta*) and its attention to detail scarcely support such a conclusion. 3. The Latin text is an excerpt from the book, but not only have the opening lines been adjusted to the new context or the text’s lack thereof, only a single excerpt from the speech has been selected and, evidently, not the opening section. This third option would satisfy the objections that might be raised against the first two. Moreover, the paenitentia as we have it in the Greek text is clearly far more extensive than what the Latin gives us. Therefore, abridgement of some description patently occurred. In further support of option three, one might cite the reference to the dimensions of Jannes’ abode in Hades on 6ab↓; but on the question of folio sequence the latter item need not suggest that 6 preceded 5d +. In fact there may be reasons to posit the reverse. Negatively, we have already noted that the opening lines of Jannes’ speech in the Latin find no correspondence in 5a + →. Positively, we may point to the likely contents of the paenitentia. In connection with our earlier discussion of 5d + (see *Notes* on 5a + ↓) we called attention to items such as “vine,” “olive-tree,” “king(s),” “Egypt,” “chiefs,” “died,” “kill.” To these could now be added “Egypt” (ἐ]ν Αἰγύπτῳ) and possibly “died” (ἀπέ]θανεν) on 6e↓ and → respectively. The combined weight of these references suggests that the paenitentia con-

tained a retrospective account of what happened during Jannes' struggle against Moses. That the paenitentia is addressed to Jambres and that he would, in all likelihood, have known what had transpired is not a valid objection to this interpretation, since our author's primary aim may well have been to address his readership. When we survey the remaining fragments of Frames 6 and 7, it becomes obvious that, in addition to a retrospective account (5d +), the paenitentia also contained a description of Jannes' lot in Hades (6) as well as a section on sins hateful to God (7). What was the order of these three emphases? That Frame 7 follows 5d + and 6 has already been established with reasonable certainty. Of the remaining two topics, it would seem likely that the review of past events preceded Jannes' elaboration on his present state; in other words, that 5d + preceded 6. We have placed them accordingly. The arrangement of fragments on 5d + is to some extent arbitrary. Frags d and g preserve an inside margin and, therefore, can be positioned with a degree of confidence. Just how many lines separate them vertically is uncertain, but the dark band of discoloured papyrus on ↓ (becoming progressively darker), because it gradually angles toward the left, suggests 15 to 18 lines; consequently, the two would belong near the top and bottom of the written page respectively. Frag e has been placed next to g on the strength of τὸ φύλλ[ο]ν τῆς ἐλαίας on ↓ and τὰ μετέωρα/ [τ]ῶν κέδρων on →. The colouring of h suggests that it be placed above e, and the "chiefs" of k↓ may belong next to "the king" of h↓. **22 βασιλεῖς.** Though it is possible to read what the text has as βασιλῖς ("queen/princess"), the latter has not before appeared in the fragments of our story. Moreover, the masculine plural might well be used to highlight Egypt's long standing mistreatment of the Israelites. In the paenitentia this would be apt. Alternatively, the plural might refer to "the royals" i.e. the king and queen. The fem sg pronouns in 27 and 28 could be of significance in that connection. **24 τὸ φύλλον τῆς ἐλαίας.** Possibly a reference to the εἶλαρ of 2a→. Fragment 5m↓ may possibly preserve an item of the Latin. Thus col. 1, 5-6 reads:... *sed vere iuste et ibit adversum me iudicium quoniam sapientior eram.* σοφο[might be σοφώτερος (= sapientior) with ἀλλ[ᾱ (= sed) in the preceding line circa 35-40 (Greek) letters earlier. But what in turn precedes the latter does not favour τέθνηκα = *mortuus sum*.

TRANSCRIBED TEXT

Frame 5 → d, e, g, h, i, k-o

	d	e	g
1	το <u>αν</u> θπω	αγ α	λθανπ
2	πεθανενορα <u>ς</u>	σαντο <u>ς</u>	ωνκεδρων
3	γηθηεκτου	καιαπεκτιν	ουηυλινη
4		προαυτουη	αουχικαιαυ
5		ταμετεωρα	ρονηνκαι
6		ατο <u>ς</u>	ηεν <u>α</u> υ
7		γικον	!
8		ανα	
9		κατη	
	h	k	l
1		νκαιγ	ηγ!
2	η	απεθαγ	του
3	ου <u>χ</u>	ψηλογο	τουτο
4	ρο <u>ς</u>		
5	φροδι <u>τ</u>		
6	ωνπα <u>ρ</u>		
7	εθαιε <u>αυ</u>		
8			
	m	n	o
1	ι κ	τιου	ου
2	ιτω <u>ε</u>	τεθη	ν
3			ικο
4			τα

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

Frame 5degkh→

]τος ἀνθ(ρώ)πω[ν
 ἅ]πρέθανεν ορας
]νηθη ἐκ τοῦ
]...[

5

$$] \dots [$$
$$].. \eta[$$
$$]. \text{ ou } \chi[$$

10

]ροτ[

]. ν καὶ γ[.....]. φροδιτ[

] ἀπέθαν[.]ων παρ[

]ψη λόγο[.]σθαι έαν[

$$] \cdot \cdot [$$

15

$$]. \text{ } \alpha \dot{\nu}.. \alpha[$$

]σαντος τ[

] καὶ ἀπέκτιν[

20

] πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἦλθαν π [

] τὰ μετέωρα [τ]ῶν κέδρων

]. ατος [.]ου ηυλινη

]γικον [.]α οὐχὶ καὶ αὐ-

]. ανα[.]ρουν και

25

]κατη[.]η ἐν αὐ. .

1.

19 rd απεκτειν-

... of men

... died...

... from (Hades?)

• • •

5

- ...
 ...
 ...
 10 ...
 ... and ...
 ... died ...
 ... self ...
 ...
 15
 ...
 ...
 ... and killed ...
 20 ... before him they came ...
 ... the loftiest of the cedars
 ...
 ... magical (?) ... not and he(?)
 ... and
 ... in ...
 25 ...

Notes:

For the arrangement of this page see *Notes* on 5d + ↓. Fragment i furnishes no legible text and is therefore absent from the Transcribed Text.

21 τὰ μετέωρα τῶν κέδρων. Nowhere else in Greek literature, with the exception of Isa 2:13, is μετέωρος used for trees. The Isaiah passage, however, employs it figuratively, as a description of the “proud and haughty” (ὕψηλὸν καὶ μετέωρον), but, interestingly, the tree cited metaphorically is the cedar of Lebanon. Since the magicians’ paradise featured several species of trees, a reference to cedars need not be surprising. Similarly, tree imagery is well attested in our book. One suspects that the present reference falls into the latter category. Cedars as metaphors for people are well enough known from biblical literature, in addition to the Isaiah passage (cf. Amos 2:9, Song 5:15, Sir 24:13; see also CD 2, 19 and ap-Gen XIX). (See as well the cypress-tree of Frame 1cd + , inspired by Ezek 31.) More specifically, when Moses and Aaron made their appearance in Pharaoh’s palace they were perceived as cedars of Lebanon in stature (*Legends* 2, 332). If the present page forms part of

Jannes' paenitentia which *inter alia* gives us a retrospective account of the struggle between Moses and the magicians, as we have suggested, a similar meaning would be feasible in our passage. But in that case one expects μετέωρος to have carried a positive rather than negative sense. Hell, it will be recalled, finally brought Jannes to the admission that he had been wrong in his opposition.

TRANSCRIBED TEXT

Frame 6 ↓ a-k

	a	b	f		
1	κτητηριον	κρωνδ	επα		
2	σπηχων	οσπηχω	εμοια		
3	ωνουδε	φηενε	ζηειδ		
4	οντ ν	καυσηςφ	ρο	υοδε	
5	ανδιτου	γτωνου	δεκαταβενομεν		
6	εωνο	νουκακου	νινδεουκαφιεταιημιν		
7	γνηςγα	ωμενωνθ	εχαλεπηαφου		
8	υδεμαρ ου	ουδεευφρα	οθανοιμεθα		
9	κοιησαν	ουδεγ νους	καιφιλωνκ		
10	τω	ρηηγ'γισεν	αιγαρπυλαιτου		
11	τ	ολιθρα	κωφοικαι		
12		ταβ'ναιο			
13					
	c	d	e		
1	εωγμεν	ρα	υκεβαρυ		
2		καιβ	ν πουειεινυιοι		
3		καιαυ	γεγυπτωκαιδιατην		
4			τεσαι	ιεπολ	
5			οικοικ		
	g	h	i	j	k
1	ηλι	υκω	ρκα	ω	υτ
2	η αι	μα	εεαυτης		
3		κτ	νεγνω		

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

Frame 6abcefgi↓

top of page

]εωγγμέν[

..... κατοικητήριόν [σου ἀνὰ μέσον
 νε]κρῶν δι[ύο τὸ πλάτος] πηχῶν [ἔσται καὶ τὸ
 5 μῆκ]ος πηχῶ[ν τεσσάρ]ων οὐδὲ[]ρκα . .
 ...]φη ενε[.....]οντ[.]ν . []ς ἑαυτῆς
 ...]καύσης φ[.....]αν δι' του[] . ν ἔγνω
]γτων οὐ[.....]εωνο[
]νου κακοῦ [.....]γνης γὰ[ρ
 10 ...]ωμένων θ[.....]οῦδὲ μαρ[.]ου . [
 ...] οὐδὲ εὐφρα[.....] σοι ἦσαν . [
] οὐδὲ γ[.]νους [.....]τω[
]ρη ἠγγισεν [.]τ . [
]ολισθρα . [ο]ὐκ ἔβαρυ[
 15 .. κα]ταβῆναι ο[]ν ποῦ εἰσὶν υἱοὶ [. .
] . [ἐ]ν Ἑγύπτῳ καὶ διὰ τὴν
]τες αἰ . [.] . []ς προλ .
 τ]οῖς οἴκ[οις
]επα[. .
 20] ἔμοι α[. .
]ση εἰδ[. .
]ρο . [.]ν ὁ δὲ [. .
] . δὲ καταβένομεν
] νῖν δὲ οὐκ ἀφίεται ἡμῖν
 25] . [.]ς χαλεπὴ ἀφ' οὗ
 ἀπ]οθανοῦμεθα
] . καὶ φίλων κ[αἰ
]ηλι[]αῖ γὰρ πύλαι τοῦ
 ἄδου]η . αἰ []κωφοὶ καὶ . [. .

bottom of page

7 rd δει
καταβαινομεν

15 καταβεναι*
24 rd νυν

16 rd αιγυπτω

23 rd

- ... opened...
- ... your dwelling among the
dead shall be two cubits in width and
- 5 four cubits in length. Not even...
... herself...
... you burn... it is necessary... I knew
... not...
... evil.... For Jannes(?)...
- 10 ... not even...
... not even... belonged to you...
... not even...
... approached...
... not weighted...
- 15 ... to descend... where are (the) sons...
... in Egypt and on account of the
...
... houses...
...
- 20 ... to me...
...
... but he...
... but we descend
... but now there is for us no forgiveness
- 25 ... harsh because
... we shall die
... both friends and
... for the gates of
Hades... the... mute and...

Notes:

For a discussion of page order and the relative placement of Frame 6 see *Notes* on 5d + ↓. The make-up of our present folio is to some extent dictated by individual fragments. We have assumed that, in the absence of convincing contrary evidence, all the fragments gathered in Frame 6, belong to a single folio. The amount of overrun on f, i and e forges a positive link. In fact, no fragments of our document show as much overrun, namely circa 1.6 cm or the entire width of the margin we have established. In this connection, it

should be noted that several elongated letters on f suggest that the extensive overrun was not an occasional intrusion into the margin but that the entire column of writing had been shifted to the right. Line-length probably exceeded the 12 cm of some pages, but it need not have surpassed the 13 cm of several other pages. It may be noted that 7→ shows no overrun (though it is a later page, and the scribe is obviously cramming the closer he gets to the end), but it, of course, has preserved an inside margin, intrusion upon which would pose serious problems for the reader. The two lines on 6↓ we have reconstructed can be accommodated on a 13 cm width. It is clear, then, that Frags e, f and i form part of the right-hand side of 6↓. Equally clear is that f gives us, in addition, the bottom of the page, as does g. Frag c has preserved a top margin, but since a pf med-pass participle of (ἄν)οἶγγνυμι finds no warrant in the Latin text preceding the reference to “cubits,” it may be out of place here. For the same reason, we have placed i and e after a and b. The contents of e may link it with certain fragments of 5d + (note also ποῦ εἶσιν of e and ποῦ ἔστιν of 5d + ↓ 5). We should reiterate, however, that the overrun links e with 6 rather than with 5d + , but its precise location within the former cannot be determined, apart from the fact that it belongs on the right-left edge of the folio. Frag g shows a bottom margin, but once again its exact location in the final two lines cannot be established. As in the case of 5a + , it is likely that the bottom margin on f (and g) has been preserved intact. Consequently, the written column will have counted circa 29 lines, like 5a + → and probably 5d + ↓ →. 3-5 τὸ κατοικητήριον—τεσσάρων. The Latin text reads:

... inter mortuos fuerit abitatio tua binis lata cubitis et lingua cubitis quattuor.

... among the dead your dwelling will be two cubits wide and four cubits long.

The relationship between these two passages, to which we have already made reference, can hardly be doubted. Nevertheless, word order cannot have been identical. Regarding the meaning of these lines M. R. James, “Fragments” (p. 575) writes:

Evidently what is meant is that the habitation of the soul in Hades is of the dimension of a grave—four cubits long and two cubits broad.

There can be little doubt that the measurements as here given derive

from the grave, as James notes. The conception of the grave as man's abode in death is widespread. For this notion expressed in Greek and Latin epitaphs, for example, one can read Lattimore pp. 165-67. In the present context, however, the focus encompasses the grave and Hades as a single, undistinguished entity. The writer is seemingly interested not so much in the size of the grave *per se* nor in the tomb as man's eternal home as in its confining and constricting aspect. This concept one meets as well in Greek literature. A fragment which may have come from Menander (1099 K; see LCL ed. p. 534) states:

Though you are master of ten thousand ells (πήχεων) of land,
You after death shall have, perhaps, but three or four.

And Lucian of Samosata (*Menippus* 17) writes:

When Aeacus measures off the space for each. . .—and he gives at most not over a foot—one must be content to lie in it, huddled together to fit its compass (cf. also *Charon* 24).

Perhaps the strand of the Macarius tradition (*Hist. Monach.*) which emphasizes the immense size of the magicians' estate rests on solid information from our book, which then may have contrasted Jannes' present constricted quarters with his former extensive holdings (see *Notes* on 1cd + ↓). Interestingly, Isaac in dying is said to go "from confinement into spaciousness" (TIsaac 2:13). Macarius also relates, as we have seen, that the reputed gardentomb of our two magicians had been built of four-foot (τετραπόδικος) stones. Of course, his description highlights the magnificence of the place rather than the tomb's dimensions. But again, since the Macarius tradition shows marked familiarity with our book, a connection cannot be ruled out.

5 οὐδὲ. Judging from the relative prominence of negatives in the fragments of our current page, Jannes presumably continues to dwell on the limitation and deprivation he experiences in Hades, from which, according to the Latin, he wishes to save his brother. One surmises that the 2nd sg references are to Jambres.

9 -vνης. Possibly a statement about Jannes rather than one by him. If correct, the paenitentia must not have been comprised solely of a speech by Jannes' ghost but was perhaps interspersed with third person narrative elements.

13 ἡγγισεν. It is tempting to fill the preceding lacuna (extending from 12 to 13) with τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ/Ἰάμβ(ρη). The text might then mean that

Jannes, at this juncture in his confession, drew closer to Jambres. Though such an interpretation would confirm the presence of narrative material in the paenitentia, as suggested in the preceding note, line 11, if read correctly, demands that direct speech intervened between these two items.

23 καταβαίνομεν. The 1st pl references here and in the following lines are of interest. Since Jannes is in Hades while Jambres is still alive, he can scarcely be referring to himself and his brother. Instead, Jambres is the ostensible recipient of and vehicle for Jannes' message from beyond the grave. More probably, then, Jannes is here describing the fate of the damned in general or as it applies specifically to his group. The *Apocalypse of Paul* (38), for example, speaks of a specific pit in Hades where magicians were being beaten, and Dante assigned them to bolgia four of the eighth (second to lowest) circle of hell (*Inferno* XX).

24 νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἀφίεται ἡμῖν. James ("Fragments" p. 575) has called attention to a passage in the *Penitence of Cyprian*. In §17 Cyprian says of himself:

Οὐ πιστεύω ὅτι ἀφήσιν μοι· οὐ πείθομαι γὰρ χείρονά μου γεγενῆσθαι ἄνθρωπον, ὑπερβαλὼν Ἰαννὴν καὶ Ἰαμβρὴν τοὺς λεγομένους· ἐκεῖνοι ἐν τῷ γοητεύειν ὡμολόγησαν θεοῦ δάκτυλον· ἐγὼ δὲ παντελῶς διεκείμην μὴ εἶναι θεόν· εἰ ἐκείνοις ὁ θεὸς οὐ συνεχώρησε, καὶ ἐν μέρει ἐπιγνοῦσιν αὐτόν, ἐμοὶ πῶς συγχωρήσειε παντάσιν ἀγνοήσαντι.

I do not believe that he forgives me. For I am convinced that no person worse than I has been born, seeing that I surpassed the well-known Jannes and Jambres. They when they practised magic acknowledged the finger of God, but I was convinced that God did not exist. If God did not pardon them, when they recognized him in part, how will he pardon me since I totally ignored him.

As James noted, the last few lines intimate that Jannes and Jambres did not obtain forgiveness. That in Cyprian Jambres is made to share in Jannes' fate need not necessarily mean that Jambres ignored his brother's warnings from hell. We have suggested (I.6) that he may well have done so. Cyprian's reference to the divine finger echoes the wording of Ex 8:19 more closely than our book (in either version) seems to have done (cf. *Notes* on 3a + →); the sense, however, is the same. Beyond the biblical account, the entire tradition about the magicians (including the book) makes explicit that recognition did not lead to repentance and divine pardon.

27 φίλων. Cf. 7 → 4 etc. **28-29 αἱ . . . πύλαι τοῦ ᾗδου.** Though "Hades" is a reconstruction, it is nonetheless likely. Not only is

Jannes speaking from Hades and could, therefore, testify first-hand to its power, but also elsewhere in our document it plays an important role. The notion that the underworld was equipped with gates accords with Egyptian, Greek and Semitic conceptions, and the particular phrase in question is attested in Greek biblical literature: Isa 38:10, WisSol 16:13, PsSol 16:2, 3Mac 5:51, Mt 16:18. Interestingly, however, $\piύλαι$ in all these passages is left inarthrous, a phenomenon Jeremias (TWNT 6 p. 925) labels a Semitism. Such is not the case here, if our reading is correct. On articulation of the second element see $7\downarrow 7$ as well as $7\rightarrow 13$ and 14. Whether the occurrence in $2a\downarrow 8$ is also to be articulated is less certain. In $6\rightarrow 15$, however, we have an instance without articulation.

TRANSCRIBED TEXT

Frame 6 → a-k

	a	b	f
1	θη	ρεποιει	μετ
2	μηccουα	καιωνα	τεc
3	τουceυεργ	αμηταιημ	αιθ
4	θηκ	αωνλιθo	ου ξηρ
5	ελ ιεν	ουκαπτ	ταμεληημωνδ
6	ιωναουδ	ωναλλα	cκοτουςπληρη
7	τουετερ	αημωνα	κεομεναυπο
8	ηνταιικα	ιλουciv	ουδενωv
9	vαειcταοπι	τεcοι οτ αι	εαυτουcθ
10	εανδεθω	τηνοικουμ	μεναλ
11	υc	αιουδυναμ	αποδουναι
12		ιεφθαρημ	

	d	e	g
1	χρι		αιη
2	γευμ	α εγνωγα	cκαι
3	οcect	ουτοcκαταβαcειcα	—
4		θανεντουτουcγ	
5		τουcγι	
6		ουceτ	

	h	i	j	k
1	λ	ι	ω	φοcα
2	καιοι	τελ	και	ιαπτ
3	ελφο			
4				

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

Frame 6abcefgi→

top of page

[illegible]

bottom of page

3 ους* τους^c 7 υδ* ουδ^c 8 rd ουχ 15 ει*
εις^c 25 rd καιομενα

- ... your...
- ... benefactors?... was doing...
- 5 ... righteous(?)...
- ... us/our...
- ... forever... a stone...
- ... the other... not touch...
- ... they and... but...
- 10 ... backward... our...
- ... but if we put...
- ...
- ... the world...
- ... for he knew... and we(?) are not able...
- 15 ... he after he descended to Hades... utterly ruined...
- ... died? these...
- ... the...
- ...
- ...
- 20 ...
- ...
- ...
- ... our limbs...
- ... full of darkness...
- 25 ... are being burnt by...
- ... putting at naught...
- ... our?selves...
- ... we but...
- ... to give back... and...

Notes:

For a discussion of the arrangement of folio 6 see *Notes* on 6↓. Frag c has not been included in the Transcribed Text since it is blank. It is clear from the ↓ side, however, that it represents the upper margin, and for that reason it has been counted for the Reconstructed Text. As in the case of 6↓, a continuous narrative is not feasible for the present page due to the fragmentary nature of our text, though the gist of what is being told is reasonably clear. For 6↓ we noted that the 1 pl references apparently throughout designate the damned, including Jannes, rather than the two brothers. Consequently, Hades in the present passage as well as in 2a↓ 8 is the abode

of the damned. On 6→, notably on f (lines 19ff.) where Jannes is detailing some of the tortures he and his fellow residents of hell are experiencing, the 1st pl referents clearly exclude Jambres.

3 σου. This word as well as ἄδ]ελφε of h line 3 suggests that, at least in form, Jannes' speech continues to be an address to his brother.

15 οὗτος καταβὰς εἰς ᾗδου. We have already noted that e may possibly not belong to the present folio but is to be placed slightly earlier as part of Jannes' retrospective account. What can be read on → may support this, since twice a verb in past tense is used (ἔγνων and probably ἀπέθανεν). Whatever its exact placement, e is certainly at home in the paenitentia. Consequently, the above phrase must refer to an individual other than Jannes. Elsewhere we have indicated (OTPs 2 p. 433) that it could refer to the descent of Christ to Hades (cf. 1Pet 3:19). Such an interpretation continues to be possible but on reflection seems unlikely, since no other specifically Christian references can be detected in our book. Needless to say, reading this passage in a Christian sense, should one be inclined to do so, no more argues for a Christian origin of the book than the contraction of the nomina sacra in the Beatty papyrus. More likely, we have here an early reference to the Jewish tradition that Pharaoh did not die in the Red Sea but was made to stand for ever at hell's portal, proclaiming God's power (see *Notes* on 3a + → which cites Ginzberg 3, 29-30). He neither died nor will ever die. In that case we should restore [οὐκ ἀπέ]θανεν. The subject of ἔγνων (line 14) must refer to the same individual, and the phrase "for he knew" (or "knows") would be apt for Pharaoh's actions in opposition to God.

διεφθαρμ. Either a perf 1st sg/pl or partic of διαφθείρω is suggested. Whether the reference is here to physical ruin or moral corruption we cannot determine. Less likely is (εἰς) φθάρμα, which occurs but four times elsewhere in Greek literature. In Lev 22:25 its presence renders an animal unfit for sacrifice; in Epiphanius *Panarion* 59.10 (GCS 31 p. 375; see also 37 p. 43) it denotes some destructive creature, namely worms (σκώληκες) and moths (σήτες); and in *War* 5, 443 Josephus uses it to label his enemies, Simon bar Giora and John of Gischala and their adherents. Its scope of meaning is "corruption/vermin/scum."

17 τοὺς γι[. In the light of ἔγνων of line 14, we may have here a further statement about individuals who, like Jannes and Pharaoh, knowingly opposed God and Israel, and thus ended up in hell. On the other hand, it is also feasible to read τοὺς γί[γαντας, thereby assuming a reference to the arch-

sinner of Jewish-Christian tradition, who were well-known denizens of Hades.

22 ξηρ. Possibly to be read as ξηρὰ (“withered/paralyzed”), a well-known descriptive of defective human limbs (see next line) in the NT and beyond, though we know of no passage that applies it specifically to the limbs of the damned.

23 τὰ μέλη ἡμῶν. The clear δ which follows may suggest a form of δέω (“bind”), e.g. δεδεμένα. The dead generally are not spoken of as bound in Jewish or Greek literature but the disobedient angels in 1 Enoch are said to have been subjected to such a fate (cf. 18:16, 21:3-4, 6, and 10:12-14 where their adherents seem to be included). Other words are, of course, possible, e.g. δάπτω or δαρδάπτω (“consume/devour”), though neither appears in biblical Greek. But that the limbs should be both paralyzed and bound seems rather excessive.

24 σκότους. An appropriate completion would be σκότους πλήρης οὗτος ὁ τόπος. That the netherworld was a place of darkness is a standard conception in both Greek and Hebrew literature.

25 καίόμενα. Following ὑπὸ (marked with rough breathing in the manuscript, see Plate 12 f) assures this reading, in distinction from the 1st pl indic. Though fire as an instrument of divine punishment is a Jewish-Christian concept *par excellence*, it is not entirely absent from Greek literature. Lucian of Samosata, *On Funerals* 8, lists “being burnt” (καίόμενοι) among the torments meted out to the wicked in Hades (cf. also *Menippus* 14 where he has them roasted on the fire and *A True Story* 2, 31 where a certain individual is subjected to similar treatment). Himmelfarb (*Tours of Hell* p. 111) thinks it possible that Lucian was influenced by Jewish or Christian ideas on this score. However, it should perhaps be noted that, in a similar vein, Plutarch, *Divine Vengeance* 30 and 33, depicts the use of fire in the underworld for purposes of torture. On the other hand, Himmelfarb’s reference (*Ibid.* note 29) to Plato’s *Phaedo* 114a in support of punishment by fire is questionable, since the river Pyriphlegethon (cf. *Od.* 10.513) functions merely as an exit from Tartarus for those whose term of punishment has been completed. As F. Lang has shown (πῦρ, *TWNT* 6, pp. 927-48; see also Himmelfarb p. 108-10), the concept of a fiery hell has a solid OT background in the use of fire as an instrument of divine punishment. Yahweh’s judgement by fire was not only directed against disobedient Israel (cf. *Jer* 11:16, 17:27, 21:14, 22:7, *Ezek* 15:7, 16:41, 24:9, *Hos* 8:14, *Amos* 2:5) but against her enemies as well (cf. *Jer* 43:12, *Amos* 1:4-14, 2:2, *Nah* 3:13). Of par-

ticular interest is Isa 66:24 which describes the fate of rebels against God in vivid terms: “. . . for their worm shall not die, their fire shall not be quenched. . .” and which, as Himmelfarb notes (p. 109), is reflected in Mk 9:47-48. Lang further calls attention to the influence of the Sodom and Gomorrah tradition (cf. Gen 19:24ff.) for the concept of the fire of hell (cf. also M. J. Mulder, *Sodom en Gomorra* p. 72). From later Jewish and Christian literature which portrays a fiery hell, we note 1En 10:13, 63:10 [some mss], 90:24-27, 103:7-8, SibOr 2.286, 305, 5.177-178, GkApEzra 4:9-21, VisEzra 4 *et passim*, QuesEzra 3, TJacob 5:9, Mt 5:22, 13:42, 50, 25:41, Lk 16:24, ActsJn 36, and, last but not least, the Latin text of our book which speaks of a *combustio magna* (line 11). Unfortunately, the fragmentary nature of our text does not enable us to determine what precise use was made of fire, but a viable referent for the neut pl participle in our text would be τὰ μέλη ἡμῶν of line 23 or a τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν which has not survived. It may be that Jannes actually finds himself in the *combustio magna*. Evidently, 6a + ↓ 7 also refers to burning in hell. 27 ἑαυτοῦς. The predominance of 1st pl references on this page suggests the same here.

TRANSCRIBED TEXT

Frame 7 ↓ a-n

	a	b		
1	τη οἰπροσκυ	τοναθλ		
2	κυνης ντεστοικειδω	οδανισαμεγ		
3	γλυπτ ρεωσγενομε	τουτοεφοσογ		
4	λιανκυντοιικειδωλοια	ορησχηδουφ		
5	ταειδωλαουτετουσσεβομ	δεφαρμακευς		
6	κενοθοσοβασιλεουσ	υκεφιορκηση		
7	εντετωαδηουδιουδουδε			
8	ε			
	c	j		
1	κ ι	τωαδηουδεβασιλ		
2	αιουκικχ	ισυπερεχιτονπτ		
3	υταρωσαι	ανεισοτηςδικαιοι		
4	ανουουτε	ωνενακα		
5	ταιουδουλ	τισταθιστ		
6	υτουουκ	ντηςγη		
7	νδανιστ	αιοδυνατ		
8	λφεμο	ακανον		
	e	f	g	i
1	ραγιω	λ	αις	
2	υτουπουου	χωρουνταιαποτο	ανμ	εισοτ
3		λαιγυδεοσονδι		ουπα
4				
	k	l	m	n
1	ησιουκα	οφω α	ονγ	κ
2	υοιζων	ιβααν	εισαδ	του
3			και	ηακ
4				

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

Frame 7abcefi↓

top of page?

- τη[. . . .] οἱ προσκυν[ούμενοι καὶ οἱ προσ-
 κυνήσ[α]ντες τοῖς εἰδώ[λοις καὶ χωνευτοῖς καὶ
 γλυπτ[οῖς] {ε}ώς γενομέ[νοις θεοῖς ἀπώ-
 λειαν σὺν τοῖς εἰδώλοις α[ὐτῶν οὐτε γὰρ
- 5 τὰ εἰδωλα οὐτε τοὺς σεβομ[ένους αὐτὰ
 σεν ὁ θ(ε)ὸς ὁ βασιλε[ο]ὺς [.
 ἔν τε τῷ ἤδη οὐδὲς οὐδέ[ν
 ε . . . [. .] τὸν ἄθλ[ιον] κ[α] [. . .]
 . . .] ὁ δανισάμεν[ος] κ[α] οὐκ ἴσχ[ε]
 10 . . .] τοῦτο ἐφ' ὅσον [. . .] υ[π]τας ὥς αἰ[ε]
 . .] ορήσης οὐ φ[ε] [. . .] ανου οὐτε [. . .]
 . οὐ]δὲ φαρμακεύσ[εις] [. . .] ται οὐ δουλ[ε]
 . ο]ὐκ ἐφιορκήσ[η]ς [. . .] του οὐκ [. . .]
 τὸ]ν δανιστ[ή]ν
 15 . .] [. . .] ἄδε]λφὲ μο[υ]
 εἰσοτ[έ]
 οὐ πα . [.] ρανι[ο]
 20 . . .] του ποῦ οὐ . [. . .] . [. .] λ . . [. . .]
 . . .] χωροῦνται ἀπὸ τοῦ [. . .] λαιν σὺ δὲ ὅσον δι . [. . .]
 . . . [. . .]
 25 ἐν] τῷ ἤδη οὐδὲ βασιλ[εὺς τὸν δοῦλον οὐδὲ ὁ πλού-
 σ]ιος ὑπερέχ[ει τὸν πτ[ωχὸν]
 .] αν εἰσότης δικαιο[ι] [.]
] ων ἐν ἀκα[κία]
] αν] τισταθίς τ[ε]
 30] . ν τῆς γῆ[ς]
] αι ὁ δυνατ[ὸς]
 β] άσανον [.]

bottom of page?

3 rd ως

3-4 rd απωλειαν

6 rd βασιλευς

7 rd

ουδεις, ουδιος* 9 rd δανεισαμενος 11 rd -ορησεις?
 13 rd εφορκησεις? 14 rd δανειστην 16 and 27
 rd ισοτ- 26 rd υπερεχει 29 rd αντισταθεις

- ... those that are worshiped and those that
 worship idols both molten and
 graven as though they were gods shall come to(?) de-
 struction together with their idols. For God the king neither
 5 tolerates(?) idols nor is he pleased with
 those that worship them...
 and in Hades no one anything(?)...
 ... the wretch... and...
 ... he that has borrowed... and has not the strength...
 10 ... this in so far as... as...
 ... nor...
 ... nor practise sorcery... not serve?...
 ... not swear falsely... not...
 ... the money-lender...
 15 ... my brother...
 equality...
 not...
 ...
 ...
 20 ... where
 ...
 ... they are being removed? from...
 ... but you in as much as...
 25 in Hades a king is not superior to the slave
 nor the rich man to the poor...
 ... equality, righteous...
 ... in innocence?...
 ... having withstood...
 30 ... the land...
 ... the mighty one...
 ... torture...

Notes:

Neither d nor h has text and both are, therefore, absent from the Transcribed Text. A number of factors guide us in arranging the majority of the remaining pieces of Frame 7. Since the edges of the binding hole in Frag a are turned down, the string must have passed from front to back, which is characteristic of the upper binding hole to the right of the central fold (see I.8). Furthermore, a comparison with the position of the upper holes in 3a and 5b shows that the top line of 7a↓ is, in all likelihood, the first line on the page. Evidently, the scribe commenced his column of writing slightly higher than on 3a→ ↓ and 5b↓, but somewhat lower than on 5b→ and 7a→. The binding hole, furthermore, marks what must be the inside margin, with the result that the page order continues to be ↓ →. We have already had occasion to call attention to the kollesis of which 7→ gives evidence (I.8). Frag b must be partly placed over a so that lines 1-5 on b→ become aligned with 4-8 of a→. Frags e, f and j, which have writing only on the right-hand side of →, are as well part of the kollesis and can therefore be arranged near the left and right sides respectively of the written columns, but their correct vertical sequence must remain in doubt. Since Frags d and h show writing only on →, these too must belong to the kollesis, but what is written on them does not seem to tie in directly with e f j →. Hence, even their approximate location must remain uncertain. Frag i↓ preserves part of a left-hand (inside) margin and therefore likewise belongs to the right and left sides respectively of 7↓ and →. Frag c must belong to the right (and left) of the kollesis and somewhere between lines 8 and 25 of the Reconstructed Text. Since it supplies a considerable amount of text, we have included it in the latter, even though its exact placement is uncertain. The remaining scraps show nothing by which to place them and, consequently, they have been left out of consideration for the Reconstructed Text. The width of the column of writing cannot be determined with absolute certainty, but since, as we noted previously, the two pages of the present folio count the greatest number of lines, it would seem reasonable to assume that the scribe utilized the full 13 cm width which he often does elsewhere. Though the fragments of our two pages cannot be fully integrated, the drift of what is being said is, nevertheless, reasonably transparent. Once again we may note that the paenitentia retains the form of an address by Jannes to his brother Jambres. This is demonstrated by verbal forms in the 2nd sg, e.g. 7↓ 11-13, → 11,

19-20; 2nd sg pronouns, ↓ 23, → 5; and the vocative ἄδελφέ μου in ↓ 15 and → 9. The present page, 7↓, touches on a number of matters. 1. It speaks of the sin of idolatry, a popular theme in both Jewish and Christian literature, and apparently enunciates the destruction which awaits idols and idol worshipers alike (lines 1-7), because of divine displeasure. 2. A series of further sins is enumerated, having to do with borrowing, practising sorcery and perjury (lines 9-13). 3. Hades is portrayed as a place where all earthly distinctions become null and void (25ff.). 4. Hell's torments are apparently touched upon (32 and Frag 1, 2). It is not possible to relate all the various sins here enumerated to the details of our story. However, that, according to our book, the two brothers were connected with the Apis cult, and possibly Sarapis' as well, has already been noted (cf. I.6.2, 6). Furthermore, one might argue convincingly that as Egyptians they were *ipso facto* guilty of idolatry. Also, some traditions about Jannes and Jambres claim that they were regarded as gods by the Egyptians (I.3.18 cf. 32). It is true, our fragments give us no information on this score, but their status and power as magicians make such veneration entirely plausible. Whether the list of sins, detailed in lines 9-13, characterized the brothers' past and Jambres' continued behaviour, we likewise do not know with certainty. We do read about "money" (3a + ↓ 3), "oaths" (2h3g↓ 8), and the practising of sorcery may be considered a magician's stock in trade. For all the evils mentioned, due punishment, our text suggests (cf. line 7), is exacted in Hades. In passing we may note that, in all probability, the paenitentia by its very nature invited interpolation and expansion in the course of its literary history. Whether such in fact occurred during the transmission history of our book, we cannot know.

1 οἱ προσκυνούμενοι. Since the article is well-nigh certain, it is not possible to read the phrase as the grammatical object of what precedes. Consequently, we must construe the text as written or else posit that the scribe mistakenly wrote the active participial phrase twice. The size of the lacuna favours what has been suggested. Divine wrath is consequently said to be directed against 1. humans who are being shown divine honours, 2. idols worshipers (no doubt including those that worship mere humans) and 3. the traditional false gods.

2 χωνευτοῖς. The restored word is not only found with some frequency in the LXX for foreign god(s) (Ex 32:4, 34:17, Lev 19:4, Num 33:52, Deut 9:16, 2Par 34:3, 2Esdr 19:18, Dan 11:8) but is often paired with γλυπτός (Deut

27:15, Judg 17:3, 4, 18:14, 18, 20, Isa 42:17, 48:5, 2Par33:7, 34:4, Nah 1:14, DanLXX 5 praef.). Moreover, along with the descriptive epithet γλυπτός, one expects a word of the same order.

3 θεοῖς. We have assumed that the scribe of the Beatty text would not have contracted the plural (non-sacral) form (cf. I.9).

3-4 ἀπώλειαν. If Jannes is here recalling what has transpired in the past, we would expect an accompanying aor verb such as εὔρον, though this is slightly short, and then read -σεν (line 6) as a past tense. Alternatively, we might supply a verb in pres or fut (of circa 6 letters) and read the later one as a timeless aor. 4 σὺν τοῖς

εἰδώλοις αὐτῶν. That idols should be endowed with existence by being accorded a like fate to that of their worshipers evidently did not trouble our author, as is the more understandable if these included deified humans. A very similar note is struck in WisSol 14:8-11, a passage condemning those that prostitute God's creation by making idols for themselves. Verse 11¹ reads: "Therefore, visitation shall fall also on the idols of the nations" (διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν εἰδώλοις ἔθνων ἐπισκοπῇ ἔσται). (Cf. further e.g. EsthLXX 4:17q) 6 -σεν.

As noted, what to read here depends on the supposed meaning of the passage as a whole, including, probably, a lost verb in line 4. Not implausibly, we should reconstruct εὐδόκη/σεν (for this verb as a timeless aorist see Lk 3:22 and parallels; for discussion see Porter, *Verbal Aspect* pp. 126-29) with a verb such as ὑποφέρει in line 4. That is to say, God neither tolerates idols nor is favourably disposed toward their devotees. βασιλεὺς. The concept of God as king

is, of course, thoroughly biblical, though the precise phraseology we have here is not attested in Greek biblical literature. The closest approximation is ὁ θεός μου ὁ βασιλεὺς μου of Ps 144:1. 7 τε.

If this is being read correctly, a balancing phrase such as ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ may have preceded. 8 τὸν ἄθλιον. Though an apt epithet for a person assigned to hell, the word is virtually unknown in biblical

Greek (see 3Mac 5:37, 49; and cf. 2Mac 8:34, 15:3, 3Mac 4:4, 4Mac 16:6, Esth 8:12p). 9 ὁ δανεισάμενος. The thought here may be that of Ps 36:21: "The sinner borrows but does not repay" (δανεῖζεται ὁ ἁμαρτωλὸς καὶ οὐκ ἀποτεῖσει).

11 -ορήσης. How to read this and the following verbs is somewhat of a problem. The evidently preposed οὐκ in line 13 rules out prohibitions (including οὐ μὴ constructions), which would make good sense in the context. Consequently, we seem forced to posit a phonetic confusion of

ει/η, which, though quite plausible *per se*, is not elsewhere attested

in our papyrus. 25 ἐν τῷ ᾧ οὐδὲ βασιλεὺς κτλ. Death as the great equalizer of human existence is a common concept in both Hebrew and Greek literature. One may cite, for example, Job 1:21, 3:17-19, Ps 48(49):18-21, SibOr 2.322-29, PsPhoc 110-13, SyrMen 372-73, Il. 9.320, Menander Frag 538 K. (For this idea in Greek and Roman epitaphs see Lattimore pp. 76, 251, 253.) Here, however, the focus seems to be on Hades as the place of punishment without regard for rank or class. In this connection, a passage such as SibOr 8.110-12 is relevant, since it portrays Hades as a region which knows no slave, lord, tyrant, king, leader, rhetorician or ruler. In similar vein, Lucian of Samosata writes in *Menippus* 14 that the dead “were being punished all together, king, slaves, satraps, poor, rich and beggars. . . .” (Cf. also his *Downward Journey* [15], *Charon* [23] and *Dialogues of the Dead* [*passim*]).

TRANSCRIBED TEXT

Frame 7 → a-n

	a	b	c
1			απο
2	νγα γπροτε	ντεκ	αυτηουφ
3	ετερονγνω	ηνψυχηναν	λλαλυπη
4	νωνουδετων	πορνησο	ενηγυν
5	αξιωccου	ηδισταμ	πονηρακ
6	υδενχι ^ρ ω	λειηβου	ο ^υ χαμε
7	αρτανικαι	ναδελφει	ωητωαδ
8	λ ^ι μενη	μη ^υ στερονκ	ρνηκα
9	η	αποδω ^c ic	τημα
10		ουναναδο	
11		οτιεντωαδ	
12		αυ ^ι ταου εδ	

	d	e	f	g	h
1	ιπαρ ^α δ	ακα	α	οι	ονοc
2	γενουκενα		τωφ	ωαν	ε ευτεδ
3	αιγιγνωcκαι		απάνκ		
4					

	i	j	k	m	n
1		ινκ	να		ς
2	εcθητιδ	νεω	φαρ ^α ωβασι	τοι	μη
3	τεκνοι	τιονκιτ	ου ν	ουθου	ειμ

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

Frame 7abcefij →

top of page?

].. [
]ν γὰ[ρ..]ν πρότε-
].. [..]. ἕτερον γνῶ
 τῶ]ν τέκνων οὐδὲ τῶν
 5 τ]ῆν ψυχὴν ἀναξίως σου
] πόρνης οὐδὲν χίρω[ν
]. ἥδιστα ἀμαρτάνι καὶ
]λαῖ ἢ βουλ[ο]μένη
]ν, ἀδελφε 'Ι[άμβρ]η,
 10] αὐτῇ οὐ φ[
 ἀ]λλὰ λύπη [
]εν ἢ γυν[ῆ
] πονηρὰ κ[αὶ
]. οὐ χαμε[
 15]ω ἢ τῷ ᾄδ[η]
 πό]ρνῃς α. [
]τημα[
]ακα[.
]α[...
 20]τω φ[...
]απαν κ[.
]... [..
]ιν κ[.
]. νεω. [
 25]τιον κιτ[.

6 rd χειρον (χι)ο(ω)*

7 rd αμαρτανει

11 rd αποδω-

σεις 14 rd χαμαι-?

25 rd κειται?

...

... for... former

... other...

... the children nor the

5 ... soul unworthily of you

- ... than a prostitute nothing is worse
 ... with great pleasure (s)he sins and
 ... or when she wishes
 ... brother Jambres
- 10 ... her not... lest later...
 ... but grief... you shall hand back...
 ... the woman...
 ... evil things... because in Hades...
 ... these things nor...
- 15 ... or Hades...
 ... prostitute... children...

Notes:

For page arrangement see *Notes* on 7↓. Frag 1 is absent from the Transcribed Text since it furnishes no legible text. 3 γν. The best candidates are probably γνησίως (“sincerely”) or some form of γνωστός (“acquaintance/friend”). 4 τῶν τέκνων. The same word occurs on line 16. Though its precise meaning and importance cannot be ascertained, it bears noting that the Latin text (lines 12-15) reads:

Et nunc frater mi Mambre, adtende tibi in vita tua ut beneficias filiis tuis et amicis apud inferos enim nihil est boni nisi tristitia et tenebre.

And now, my brother Mambres, take heed in your life to do good to your sons and friends, for in the netherworld no good exists, only sadness and darkness...

The respective contexts clearly show, however, that the two texts cannot be construed as being identical. Nonetheless, that the Greek text is similar in tone is confirmed by the following line which specifically construes the addressee in the singular (cf. also line 9) and which may have told him to take heed for his soul/life. Moreover, lines 4 and 5 may well have featured the same two groups as the Latin does. 6 πόρνης. Since the word recurs in line 16 and since in the intervening lines feminine referents are prominent, it is likely that a sizable passage deals with “the prostitute.” It is possible that the term is not intended to be taken in its literal sense but, instead, as a personification of religious prostitution, i.e. infidelity vis-à-vis God, a meaning which πορνεία and its cognates often have in biblical literature. Especially noteworthy are such passages as Isa 57:7-13, Jer 3:1-4:4, Ezek 16:15-63 and Hos 1-3. Isa 57:13 and Ezek

16:16 speak explicitly of the fashioning of idols, and WisSol 14:12 comments: “For the invention of idols is the beginning of fornication” (Ἀρχὴ γὰρ πορνείας ἐπίνοια εἰδώλων) (cf. also TReub 4:6). A direct link with 7↓ 1-6, which deals with God’s hatred for idols and idol worshipers, is therefore plausible. On the other hand, we have argued earlier (*Notes* on 1ef↓) that Jannes and Jambres espoused the abolition of the institution of marriage. Consequently, the prominence of the prostitute in the paenitentia may be rooted in the brothers’ personal experience.

πόρνῃς οὐδὲν χεῖρον. The last word in this phrase is somewhat of a problem. The ρ was formed from ο, and what follows must be read as ω. Instances of ω without middle hasta occur throughout the document. What seems to be missing is any traces of ν. We have therefore reluctantly posited that the scribe wrote χιρω[ν for χεῖρο[ν. If our reading of the phrase is correct, we have here a view of the seriousness of πορνεία similar to, for example, TReub 4:6 which says that it leads young men to Hades/death and TIss 7:1-2 which labels it a deadly sin. According to TSim 5:3 it is the mother of all evil, and Jub 33:13, 18 maintains that it is a sin for which pardon is not possible. Particularly the Jubilees passage is of interest for the Jannes and Jambres tale, though admittedly it speaks specifically of sleeping with one’s father’s wife (see 6a + ↓ 24).

11 λύπη. A not implausible result of indulging in πορνεία.

14 χαμε-. In the context of πόρνῃ, this should probably be read as a form of χαμαιτυπ- (“harlot[ry]”), even though the latter does not occur in the Greek Bible. Beginning with Philo, however, these two lexemes appear together nearly a dozen times in Greek literature (Jewish, Christian and Pagan). For Philo see *Abel and Cain* 21 (which also features τρυφή), *On Dreams* 1, 88 and *Joseph* 43.

17]τημα. Probably to be construed as a form of ἀμάρτημα. Cf. lines 6-7 above.

Frag k apparently reads φαραὼ βασι[λε-. We have not encountered the king’s name since the opening lines of our book (see 1ab→).

TRANSCRIBED TEXT

Frame 8 → a-r

	c		g		k
1	η		ν		ουκ
2	βα		λεν		θ
3	ς		ν		
4			αλ		
	τ				
1					
2	αλπ				

TRANSCRIBED TEXT

Frame 8 ↓ a-r

	a	b	c	d			
1			ενδεπρ	ουμ			
2	τον	πιεν	απαυτου	εντω			
3	ατο	νλογωνζωη	ζωνκαιο	κτινγ			
4	λιεναυτ		εκελε				
6	νημετερα		θηλ				
7	προ						
	e	f	g	h	i	j	
1				μου			
2	αυτου	εκα	πι	κους		λη	
3	ημουη	ωνε	ωc	εμ	αθη		
4					αττα		
5					ηλ		
	k	l	m	n	o	p	q
1		κα	υρ	ο	ητ	ς	νω
2	και	λη	αν	του	ητ	αι	ι
3	θα		ω	εβρ		ς	
4				ιδ			
	r						
1	ρ εποι						
2	τουβασιλ						
3	μεταγω						

Notes:

Fragment r has been included in Frame 8 (and Plates 15 and 16) even though it is physically not part of it but, instead, was erroneously framed with an assortment of Coptic pieces in a glass at present labeled no. 4 of the lot brought to the Chester Beatty from the British Museum in 1985 but in fact without official designation. Where in the document Frag r belongs must remain uncertain, though the range of possibilities can be significantly narrowed. Since the ↓ side shows both a left-hand and a lower margin, the fragment cannot be grouped with 1cd + , 1ef, 2a, 4a + or 6. Furthermore, any association with 5a + , 5d + or 7 is unlikely either because of relative line density or because of contents (or because of both factors). Of the delineated folios that leaves only 1ab, 3a + and 2h3g. That r belongs with 3a + seems improbable in light of the contents of the latter, which are evidently supported by the Vienna text. If we assume that the piece is part of either 1ab or 2h3g (rather than an otherwise lost folio), the latter is perhaps the better choice since at that point in the narrative the focus is clearly on Egypt's king, whom we encounter on r↓. In any case, the correct page order of r is likely → ↓, a conclusion which is supported by the lack of evidence for binding holes.

The unknown conservator of P. Chester Beatty XVI may have treated Frame 8 as a repository for left-overs. What is interesting, however, is that most of the seventeen fragments are in similar physical condition; that is to say, the → side is blank. Also significant is that line spacing on the larger fragments, which places them with the earlier rather than later pages of our book, is very similar if not indeed identical. One might therefore speculate that their → side is in as poor a state of preservation as it is, because it lay exposed (already without binding?) to the elements as initial page of the document. Perhaps some support for this may be gleaned from the present condition of 1a + b→, which give us the initial lines of the book. If our speculation is at least partly on target, it means that the text legible on the ↓ side will have belonged to page 2 of *Jannes and Jambres*. A phrase such as "words of life," shown on b↓ as the last line of the page, might not be unsuitable for what we have termed an author's preface (see *Notes* on 1ab↓). But when all is said and done, we must unfortunately confess substantial ignorance about the placement of the fragments in Frame 8.

Two pieces, g and k, were framed with their → and ↓ sides

reversed. Consequently, in these two instances the $\rightarrow$ side of the frame shows $\downarrow$ and vice versa. Frag k shows a binding hole as well, which identifies the inside margin and thus assigns it to the second half ($\downarrow \rightarrow$) of the quire. The edges of the hole are evidently turned down.

III

PAPYRUS VINDOBONENSIS
GREEK 29456 + 29828VERSO

1. INTRODUCTION

The four fragments of papyrus registered by the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna under the numbers 29456verso and 29828verso are part of a roll which on the → side was inscribed with a Christian text of the early iii AD. They were first published by Hans Oellacher, “Papyrus- und Pergamentfragmente aus Wiener und Muenchner Bestaenden,” *Miscellanea Giovanni Galbati* vol. 2 (Fontes Ambrosiani XXVI). Milan, 1951. Pp. 179-88 (182-88). Oellacher labeled the fragments α-δ, α and δ being the two registered under 29456 and β and γ, the remaining pair, covered by 29828. Since he was unable to identify the fragments correctly, Oellacher grouped them, together with their → side, under Gnostica, and more particularly characterized the text on the latter side as hermetic (based on his reading of δ Ἑρμῆς on fragment γ).

The Christian text on the → side of the roll (note the standard bi-literal contractions of θεός) was assigned to the early iii AD by Oellacher, and, in his opinion, it was unlikely that the text on the ↓ side, which he thought might be apocryphal Acts of John the Apostle, would not be of much younger date (p. 182). Here his identification was clearly guided by the appearance of Ἰωάννης (= Jannes) in our text.

More than twenty five years later Pierre Maraval re-published the text, this time supplying it with its correct identification: “Fragments grecs du livre de Jannès et Jambéré (Pap. Vindob. 29456 et 29828 Verso),” *ZPE* 25 (1977) pp. 199-207. Maraval’s labeling of the fragments (A-D) reflects Oellacher’s designations, and the latter’s suggested date is upheld.

In the new edition which follows and which has already been utilized at a number of points in this volume, Maraval’s text has been modified both in light of our re-examination of the fragments but especially with the aid of P. Chester Beatty XVI, of which Maraval had no knowledge. The correct order of the two major fragments can now be shown to be B A. Evidently, however, one column of writing between these has not survived, unless, perchance, C and D have preserved part of this. Both the Beatty and the Vienna texts are sufficiently fragmentary where they coincide to allow for such a possibility. Indeed, some slight support may be gleaned from the thunder

bolt (κεραυνός) of D 7 and the seeming prominence of αὐτ(ός) (cf. C 5, 11, D 3). Both these items are compatible with the astronomical scene of Beatty 3a + ↓. Substantive variants between the two texts have been discussed in the respective *Notes* on the Beatty papyrus (see 3a + and 4a +).

Several features of the Vienna papyrus merit attention. First, unlike in the Beatty papyrus and also unlike in the Christian text on the → side of the roll, the so-called nomina sacra were apparently not contracted. Naturally, some caution is in order since only one clear instance is extant (θεός in A 19), but the same picture emerges from the remnants of πνεῦμα in B 19 and 21, the first of which is certainly sacral. Fragment D 2 seemingly gives us an uncontracted instance of ἄνθρωπος (cf. I.9 for the contractions in the Beatty papyrus). Notably C. H. Roberts (cf. MSB ch. II) has emphasized that the phenomenon of non-contraction points to Jewish origin, and added thereto is, secondly, that our text was written on a roll. But the fact that the roll is a re-used one counsels caution once again. Since both → and ↓ contain a literary text, there is no sure way of knowing which is the re-used side. Thus, does the Christian text on → pre- or post-date our text, and if the former, is it plausible that a Jewish(?) scribe would have used a Christian roll? If, on the other hand, the order is vice-versa, we would have confirmation for our view that *Jannes and Jambres* is a Jewish rather than Christian composition in origin (see I.6). Moreover, that the book would have circulated in both Christian and Jewish environments well after its inception need not occasion surprise in light of 2Tim 3:8 (and other Christian references) and the obvious continued Jewish interest in the two magicians. Thirdly, the number of letters per line (circa 31-33) and lines per column (circa 23) is comparable to the average size of the written page in the Beatty papyrus. If the book comprised a minimum of 24 pages in the Beatty text, as we have suggested (I.8), we would need a minimum of circa 24 columns in the Vienna scroll. Since a column measured circa 10 cm in width, we would need at least 2.4 m for the entire book. Allowing for an intercolumnar space of 1-2 cm would give us a roll of somewhat less than 3 m in length; consequently, within the range of 144.5 to 315.4 cm James Robinson gives for the Nag Hammadi rolls (*Nag Hammadi Codices—Introduction* p. 60). We reiterate, however, that the measurement is a minimum.

Only variant readings from Maraval's edition have been cited in the *apparatus criticus*.

1. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

TRANSCRIBED TEXT

	B	C
1	τις ταθητι τομουσει τωεβρε	ος
2	μει ακαι τεραταως τε παντ	ξαι
3	αμενος δε γεναμενος δ	
4	λεα αντε σταθη τομουσει	ος λict
5	ω αυτου αορρον ποιωνος ^a κ	κικαι αυ
6	ωσδε η κισενο θανατος	λαι η ανη
7	αιελ κειπων ηρωεις τη γ	
8	γευρις κονχιαζειν π	κη τον
9	ον βασιλεα νλεγω τουτ	δεισ η ουλ
10	εστι γουδ νομαι πρ	ατα ανα
11	μη εις θανατο νεκ	και αυτ
12	ειο αννη σ τον αδελ	
13	παρεκαλεσεν αυτον	
14	υ του μη αυ τον λυπ	
15	τις κινδυνευσε γ	
16	αι υπ αυτης η μη	
17	χρηματα και ει γ	
18	ημων ετοιμας	
19	δηγαρ το πνευμ	
20	νουμαι οτις η	
21	ι γον δια πν	
22	υαδελφου αυτου	
23	εκει πεν	

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

Fragment B

top of column

- .. ἀν]τιστάθητι τῷ Μοῦσεϊ τῷ Ἑβρέ[φ ποιούν-
 τι ση]μεῖα καὶ τέρατα ὥστε πάντ[ας θαυμά-
 ζειν· [[γεν]αμενος δε]] γενάμενος δ[ἐ πρὸς τὸν
 βασι]λέα ἀντεστάθη τῷ Μοῦσεϊ κ[αὶ τῷ ἁδ-
 5 ελφ]ῷ αὐτοῦ Ἀαρρὸν ποιῶν ὅσα κ[ἀκεῖνοι·
 εὐθέ]ως δὲ ἤκισεν ὁ θάνατος [αὐτοῦ ἔ-
 τι κ]αὶ ἔλκει πωνηρῷ· εἰς τὴν [ἔδραν
 ἦλθε]ν εὐρίσκον χιάζειν· π[έμπει δὲ
 πρὸς τ]ὸν βασιλέαν λέγω[ν]· Τοῦτ[ο δύναμις
 10 θεοῦ] ἔστιν, οὐ δύνομαι πρ[άξαι οὐδὲν...
]. μὴ εἰς θάνατον εκ[.....
 δὲ ὁ] Εἰοάννης τὸν ἀδελ[φὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰάμ-
 βρην] παρεκάλεσεν αὐτὸν [καὶ τὴν μητέ-
 ρα α]ὐτοῦ μὴ αὐτὸν λυπ[εῖν μνήσθητι
 15 δὲ ὅ]τι ἐκινδύνευσεν [ἐν τῷ αἵματι
]αι ὑπ' αὐτῆς μὴ α[..... οὖν
 περὶ] χρήματα καὶ εἰ[.....
 πρὸς] ἡμῶν ἐτοίμασ[ον.....
 ... ἡ]δῃ γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμ[α.....
 20 οὐκ ἀρ]γοῦμαι ὅτι ση[μεῖα.....
]. ἴγον διὰ πν[εύματος.....
 το]ῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτο[ῦ.....
]ἐκεί πεν. [...]

bottom of column

1 rd τω μουσει	rd εβραιω	4 rd τω μουσει	5 rd
ααρων	οσσ*	κ(ακεινοι): σ Ma	(ευθε)ως: πε Ma
7 (κ)αι: η Ma	rd πονηρω	8 rd ευρισκων	9
rd βασιλεα	(ε)στιν: (η)μην Ma	12 rd ιωαννης	

... withstand Moses the Hebrew who is doing
 signs and wonders so that all are amazed.”

And when he had come to the
 king, he withstood Moses and his

- 5 brother Aaron by doing whatever they had done.
But immediately his fatal illness tormented him
again with a serious tumour. Into the hedra
he went trying to find a way to get rid of it.
Then he sent word to the king saying, "This is
10 the power of God; I am not able to accomplish anything,
(except what is ?) not unto death. . . ."
Now when Jannes (met?) his brother Jambres
he urged him and his mother not to grieve (over??) him. "But remember
15 . . . was endangered by the blood(?)
. . . by her/it. . . therefore
with regard to money and. . .
with/by us prepare. . .
. . . for now the spirit. . .
20 . . . I do not deny that signs. . .
. . . through the spirit. . .
. . . of his brother. . .
. . .

TRANSCRIBED TEXT

	A	D
1	μηποτεπικρανθη	
2	δεαποστελοπρο	νθροπ
3	ασεκαιετακατεγ	καιαυτ
4	δεκαιειοαμβρηντωαδ φωμουπρ	ταγεγ
5	ειθαικοιπροσεχεινκοιπ στοσκαιπρ	ουχι
6	ελθωνκατεφιλησεναυτηνσυχω	τοπατο
7	δαγρυαεξελθουσηςδεαυτηςπ δ	νκεραυ
8	δοναφηκενταδακρυακαιπερ ελα	σουχη
9	φιλουσαυτουσπανταςπαρακαλεσ	μενηπ
10	ισθαιτηςμητροσαυτουπαραλ	οκος
11	δελφοναυτουειςμεμφινεπ	
12	βιβλονειπεδηαδελφεγραφ	
13	μαικαιεχεενμυστηριωκαιφ	
14	θεινεννημερασεξερχεται	
15	οιμεγιστανεστησεγυπ	
16	ονεφρεωνμηδεσυο	
17	τιδεαρρωστινκαιτηγ	
18	αποθανατουκαιαποτ	
19	τιωνηγοθεοστονου	

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

Fragment A

- αὐτῆς] μήποτε πικρανθῆ[ς καθ'
 ἡμέραν] δὲ ἀποστελῶ πρὸ[ς σὲ τοῦ γινώ-
 σκειν] ασε καὶ σὲ τὰ κατεγ[κλήματά μοι (επλαγην?)
 δὲ καὶ Ἐιοάμβρη{ν} τῷ ἀδ[ελ]φῷ μου πρ[ο]σκ-
 5 εἶσθαί σοι, προσέχειν σοι π[ι]στῶς· καὶ πρ[ο]σ-
 ελθὼν κατεφίλησεν αὐτὴν συσχω[ν] [τὰ
 δάγρυα· ἐξελθούσης δὲ αὐτῆς π. δ[.]. σχε-
 δον ἀφῆκεν τὰ δάκρυα καὶ περ[ι]έλα[βεν
 φίλους αὐτοῦ{c}], πάντας παρακαλέσ[ας προνοε-
 10 ἶσθαι τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ· παραλ[αβὼν δὲ τὸν ἀ-
 δελφὸν αὐτοῦ εἰς Μέμφιν ἐπ[ο]ρεύθη· λαβὼν
 βίβλον εἶπε δὴ· Ἄδελφε, γραφ[ήν] σοι παρατίθε-
 μαι καὶ ἔχε ἐν μυστηρίῳ καὶ φύλαξαι μὴ ἐξελ-
 θεῖν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ{c} ἐξέρχεται [ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ
 15 οἱ μεγιστᾶνες τῆς Ἑγύπτου διώκειν τὸν λα-
 ὸν Ἐφρέων μηδὲ συνο[δεύειν] ὑποκριθη-
 τι δὲ ἀρρωστὴν καὶ τὴν [ψυχὴν σου φύλαξον
 ἀπὸ θανάτου καὶ ἀπὸ τ[οῦ] ἔδου
 τιωνην ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐ[ρανὸν]
 bottom of column

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| 2 rd αποστελω | 3 ασε: probably a dittographic mistake for fol- |
| lowing και σε | rd κατεγκληματα |
| 4 rd ιωαμβρη | |
| 5 rd πιστως | 7 rd δακρυα |
| 8 περιελαβεν: . περ. . Ma | |
| 9 rd αυτου | 9-10 προνοε/ισθαι: επιμελε/ισθαι Ma |
| 10 δε: om. Ma | 11 επορευθη λαβων: επεδωκε αυτω τον |
| Ma | 12-13 παρατιθε/μαι: παραδιδο/μαι Ma |
| 13 φυλαξαι: φυλαξον Ma | 14 rd ημερα |
| 15 διωκειν: κατα | |
| Ma | rd αιγυπτου |
| 16 rd εβραιων | 16-17 υποκριθη- |
| τι: αυτοις ουκ εξεστι Ma | 17 rd αρρωστειν |

... lest perchance you be annoyed with me... but every day I will send word to you in order that you too may know the charges against me. And I was indeed amazed how loyally Jambres my brother kept being de-

5 voted to you, kept heeding you.” Then he stepped
forward and kissed her, fighting back
tears. But when she had . . . gone out
he burst into tears. He then embraced
his friends, having urged all of them to show regard
10 for his mother. And having taken along his
brother he traveled to Memphis. Having taken (the)
book he then said, “Brother, a document to you I am
entrusting. Keep it secret and take heed not to
go out on the day on which the king and
15 nobles of Egypt go out to pursue the people
of the Hebrews nor to accompany (them).
But feign illness and guard your life
from death and from Hades . . .
. . . God heaven . . .

IV

BRIT. LIB. COTTON MS. TIBERIUS B.V 87

1. INTRODUCTION

British Library Cotton Ms. Tiberius B. v folios 78-87 once belonged to a work, dated to xi AD, which documented and illustrated Marvels of the East, included among which, on folio 87, was an excerpt from the Jannes and Jambres tale, accompanied by one, allegedly two, illustrations in colour. The entire Latin text of the Marvels, as well as its Old English translation, was made available to modern scholarship by T. O. Cockayne in his *Narratiunculae Anglice conscriptae* (1861), but not until its re-publication by M. R. James, “A Fragment of the ‘Penitence of Jannes and Jambres’” JTS 2(1901) pp. 572-77, did folio 87 become generally known to biblical scholars. In the year following James’ article, Max Förster published an improved edition of both its Latin and Old English texts: “Das lateinisch-altenglische Fragment der Apokryphe von Jamnes und Mambres,” ASSL 108 (1902) pp. 15-28.

The text of the Latin Jannes and Jambres fragment is written in two columns on the first side of folio 87, for convenience here designated 87a. The writing in column 1 is preceded by the first of two illuminations in colour which have been associated with the text. The opening three lines of Latin, marked initially by a capital letter in red, are followed by an equal number of a translation into Old English, marked with an initial letter in green, the remainder of which, however, is not given until the Latin text comes to a close in column 2 line 6. The second instalments of both texts are introduced as the first.

At the time of the text’s re-publication, James expressed doubt on whether the first and smaller of the illuminations, which represents two nude men standing on a mountain top conversing, has anything to do with Jannes and Jambres. In his opinion it might more plausibly be associated with what precedes. Förster found James’ skepticism unwarranted and for proof appealed to the very text with which James had sought to link it. At the foot of column 2 folio 86(b) we read:

est (et) alius mons ubi sunt homines nigri ad quos nemo accedere potest quia ipse mons ardet.

there is also another mountain where black people live, whom no one can reach because the mountain itself burns.

Should James be correct, contends Förster, we would have to conclude that the illuminator failed to read his text closely since the two figures on the mountain are not black. Förster does admit, however, that they bear an ash-like hue, but he attributes this to “*chemische Zersetzung*.” Though Förster’s explanation is admittedly not impossible, it becomes decidedly unconvincing when one turns to other illuminations in the manuscript. A series of considerations argues in favour of James’ suggestion. If the off-white, greyish tint of the two men is due to chemical breakdown, as Förster would have us believe, it is strange that no such change can be detected in the human figures of preceding illuminations nor in the full-page picture which immediately follows the Jannes and Jambres text (folio 87b), all of which bear a pinkish colouring. Moreover, a comparison of the hair points in the same direction, namely that the artist deliberately though lightly introduced certain negroid features, in accordance with the preceding text. It is further of some interest to note that folio 86b, which closes with the text regarding the inaccessible mountain where *homines nigri* dwelled, earlier speaks of a *mons* where one could find griffins and (other) peculiar birds. This text, however, is illustrated by a picture featuring a griffin (embedded in the Old English translation) and another one portraying a bird (at the conclusion of the text), while the *alius mons* with its black men remains un-illustrated if the illuminations on both 87a and 87b are associated with the tale of Jannes and Jambres. Also of interest is that the sequence throughout the preceding pages (our work begins with folio 78) is 1. text (Latin plus translation) followed 2. by illumination. Thus, for example, the last text on 86a has its illumination overleaf on 86b, since insufficient space remained on the preceding page. Though in two instances (80a-b and 86b) two illuminations accompany a single text, in neither case does an illumination precede; rather, in both instances, the first picture is embedded in the Old English translation and the second appears in its usual location, namely, following the text. The most decisive refutation of Förster’s argument is, however, furnished by the illumination on 86a col. 2 for the text *aliud genus est hominum valde nigrum qui (et)hiopes vocantur*. The two men there portrayed as representing the Ethiopians have precisely the same body colouring as the pair in the picture on 87a, leading us to the inevitable conclusion that artistic technique rather than chemical breakdown is responsible for the present colour of the human figures

on 87a. Consequently, we conclude that only the full-page picture on 87b is of relevance for the magicians' story.

The illustration in question (see Plate 19)

... represents Mambres standing on a mountain and holding an open book, face outwards, to which he points. The mountain has opened, and in its cleft we see Hell. A gigantic figure covered with tufts of hair, and with clawed hands, is clutching souls and drawing them into his mouth. Other devils and souls bound with serpents—and one lying under a huge stone—fill up the rest of the field. It is a remarkably imaginative and in its way beautiful painting. (James JTS 2 p. 573)

We may suggest in passing that the "gigantic figure" is Satan himself, who bears a certain resemblance to his portrayal in Dante's *Inferno* XXXIV. Thus Dante's Lucifer/Satan/Dis crunches sinners in his three mouths (though one head) (56), is clawed (59), covered with tufts of hair (73-74) and is generally depicted as being of huge size. The figure in our picture, however, is not winged, as Satan is in Dante.

We have already argued (*Notes* 5a + →) that the mountain scene represents a deviation from the setting of the necromancy in our book, where it takes place under an apple-tree, near Jannes' grave.

Before turning our attention to the Latin text however, we may note that, apart from the pictorial representation of the necromancy scene, the brother magicians have been identified in two further illuminations. The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch (BL Cotton Claudius B. iv) twice depicts two magicians together with Moses and Aaron in the presence of Pharaoh: folio 81v on Ex 7:12 (the sign of the rods) and 83r on Ex 8:18 (the plague of the lice). In both instances, T. H. Ohlgren (*Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts* 191.252 and 191.258; cf. also Clemeos [ed.] *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile* vol. 18) has suggested that the individuals in question are our Jannes and Jambres. His identification is regarded as likely by T. N. Hall in Biggs et al. *Sources*. Indeed, obvious familiarity with the brothers in the Anglo-Saxon West makes the equation well-nigh irresistible.

The Latin text of BL Cotton Tiberius contains a number of abbreviations including the ampersand which regularly stands for *et*. In the present edition, all of these have been expanded but marked by parentheses. Also added is capitalization for proper nouns.

2. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

(Column 1)

Ap(er)uit Mambres libros magicos fratris sui
Iamnis (et) fecit necromantiam (et) eduxit
ab inferis idolum fratris sui.

Respondit ei anima Iamnis dicens: Ego f(rate)r

5 tuus n(on) iniuste mortuus su(m). Sed uere iuste
(et) ibit aduersum me iudicium q(uonia)m sapientior
eram omniu(m) sapientium magorum. Et
astiti duobus f(rat)ribus Moysi (et) Aaron qui
fecerunt signa (et) p(ro)digia magna p(ro)pter hoc
10 mortuus sum (et) deductus sum de medio ad
inferos. Ubi est combustio magna (et) lacus
p(er)ditionis unde non e(st) ascensus. Et nunc f(rate)r

(Column 2)

mi Mambre, adtende tibi in vita tua ut
benefacias filiis tuis (et) amicis apud inferos

15 enim nihil est boni nisi tristitia (et) tenebre
(et) postquam mortuus fueris (et) uęęęęę ad in-
feros int(er) mortuos fuerit abitat[i]q t[ua bi]n(is)
lata cubitis (et) lingua cubitis quattuor

1 and 3 fratris: -tres ms

2 necromantiam: nicromantiam ms

4 iamnis: -nes ms

6 ibit: iuit James coni.

8 asti-

ti: restiti James coni.

17 binis Förster: ms inc.

Mambres opened the magical books of his brother Jamnes and performed necromancy and brought up from the netherworld the shade of his brother.

The soul of Jamnes replied to him as follows: I your

5 brother did not die unjustly but indeed justly
and the judgement will go against me since I was
wiser than all wise magicians and I
withstood the two brothers, Moses and Aaron, who
performed great signs and wonders. On this account

- 10 did I die and was removed from among men to
the netherworld where there is great burning and the lake
of perdition, whence no one ascends. And now, my
brother Mambres, take heed in your life to
do good to your sons and friends, for in the
- 15 netherworld no good exists, only sadness and darkness,
and after you have died and have come to the
netherworld among the dead your dwelling will be two
cubits wide and four cubits long.

V

REPRODUCTIONS

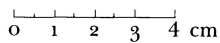
P. CHESTER BEATTY XVI



PLATE 1:1 → a-f



PLATE 2:1 ↓ a-f



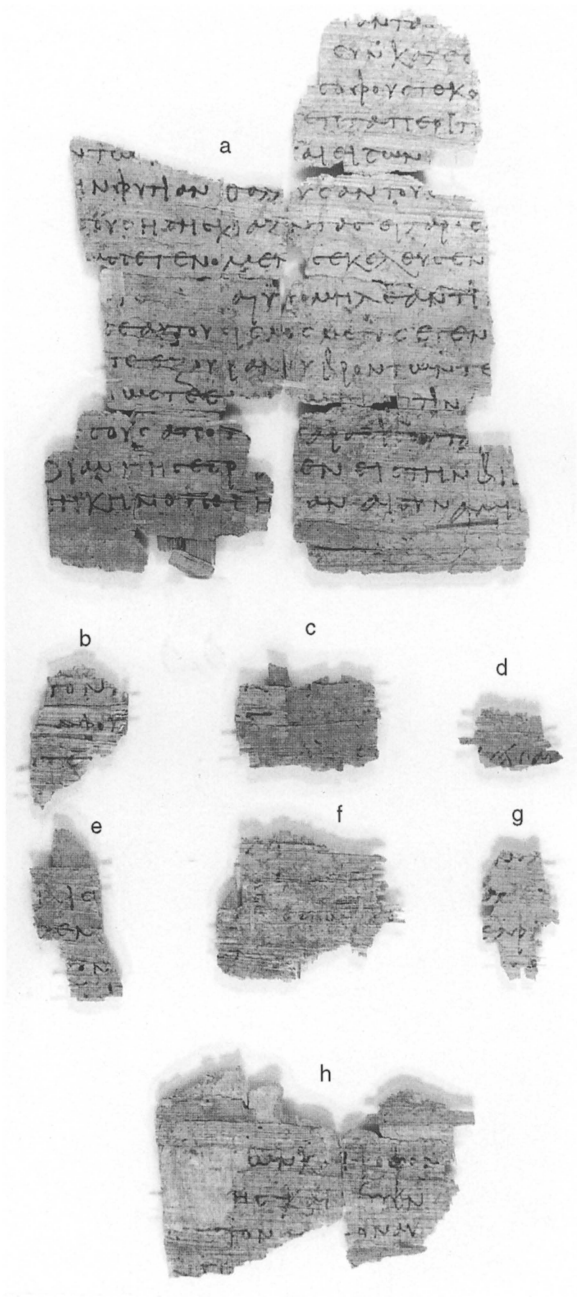


PLATE 3:2 → a-h

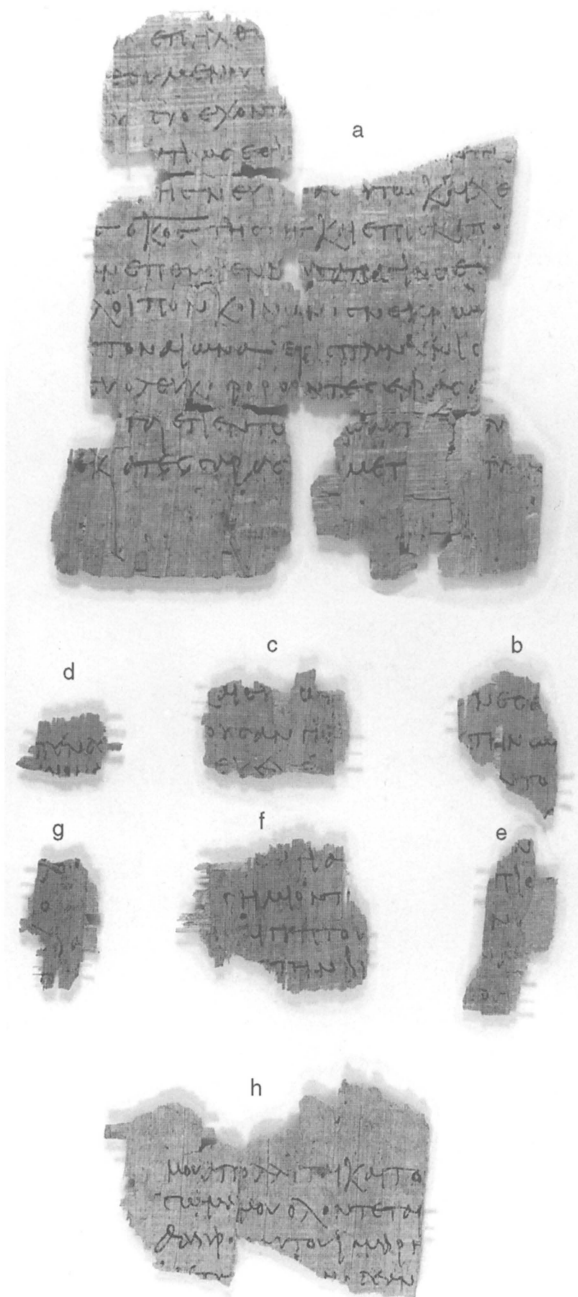


PLATE 4:2 ↓ a-h

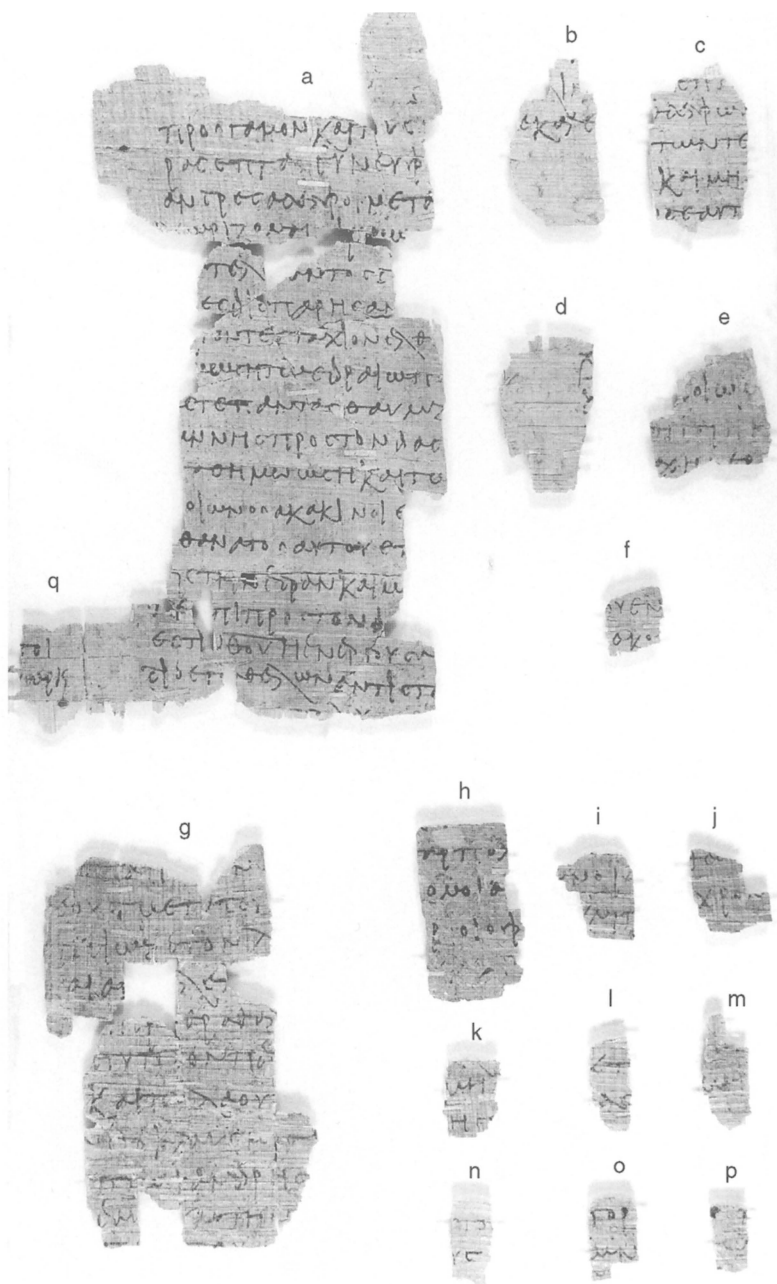


PLATE 5:3 → a-q

0 1 2 3 4 cm

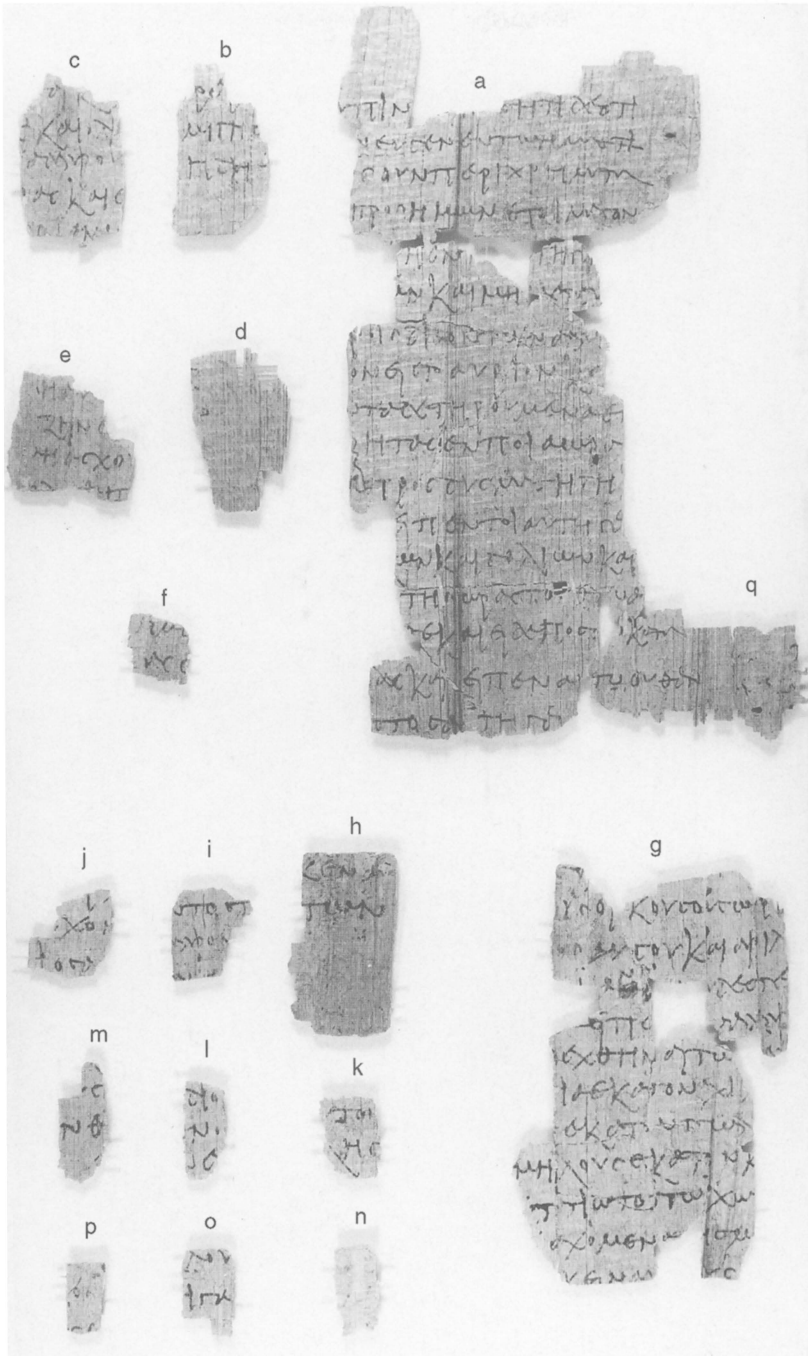


PLATE 6:3 ↓ a-q

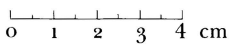




PLATE 7:4 → a-k

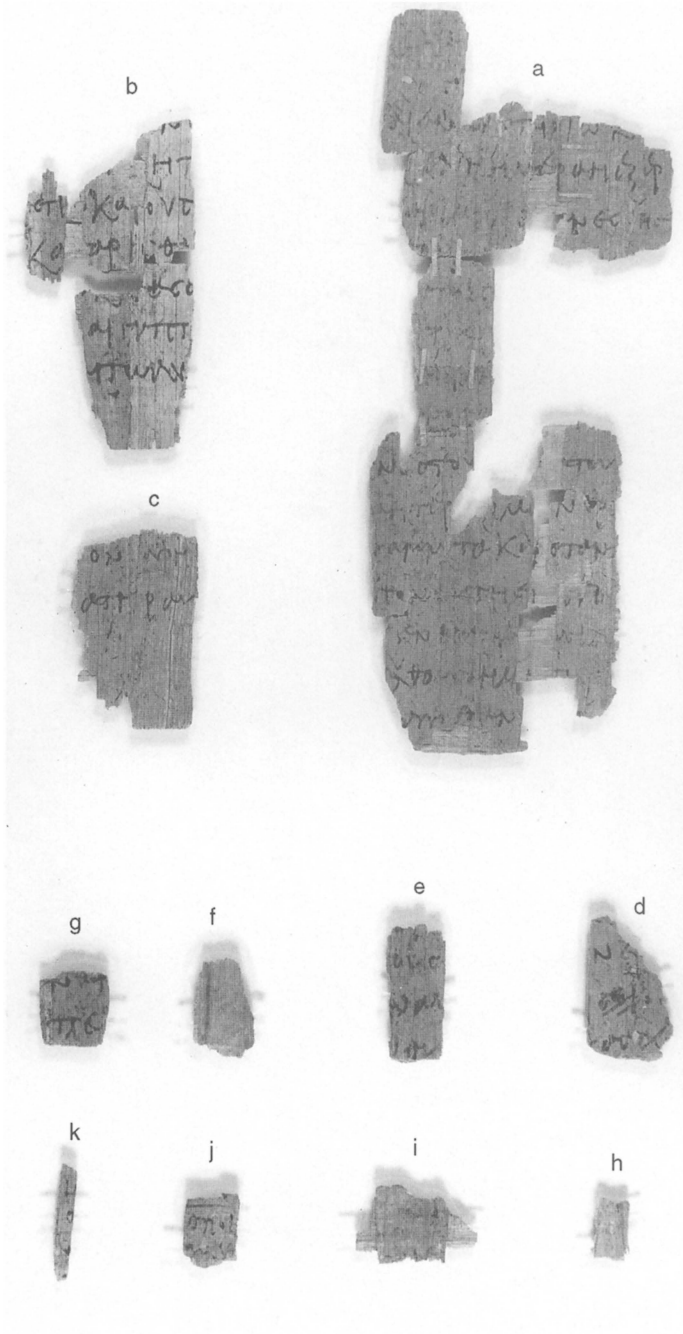


PLATE 8:4 ↓ a-k

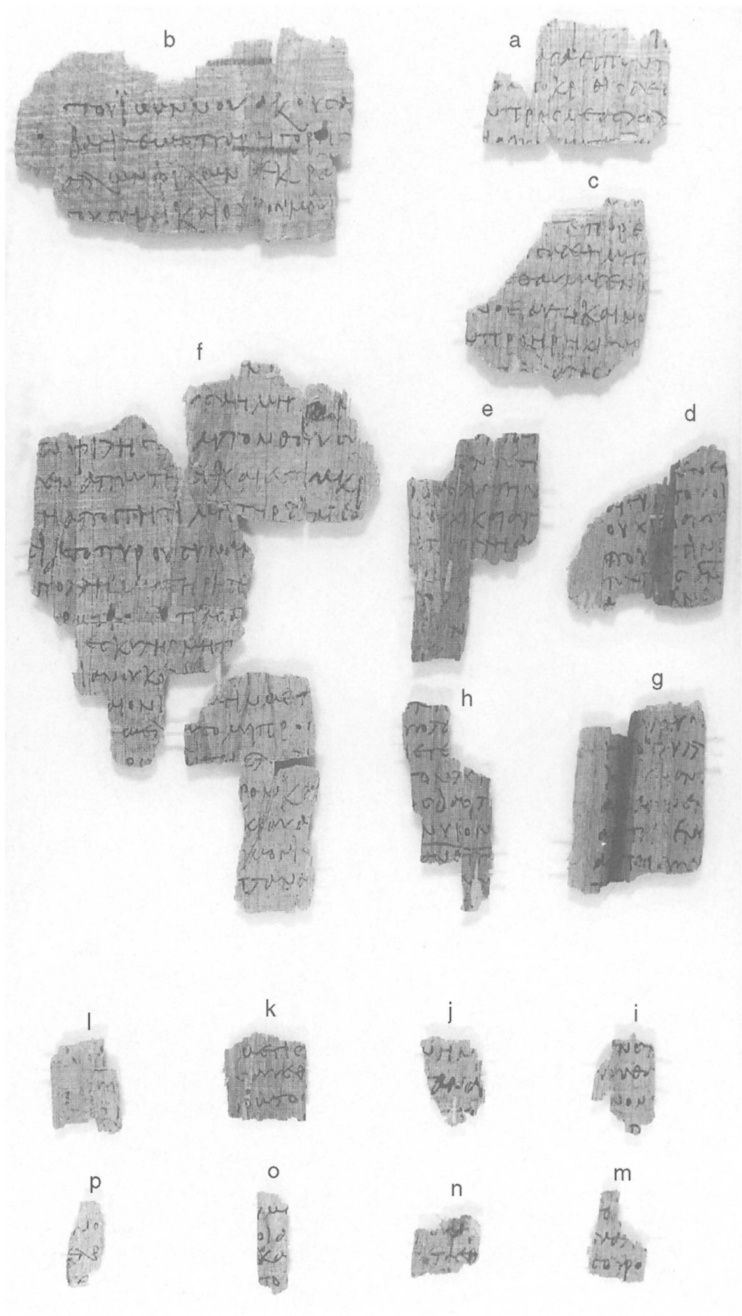


PLATE 9:5 ↓ a-p

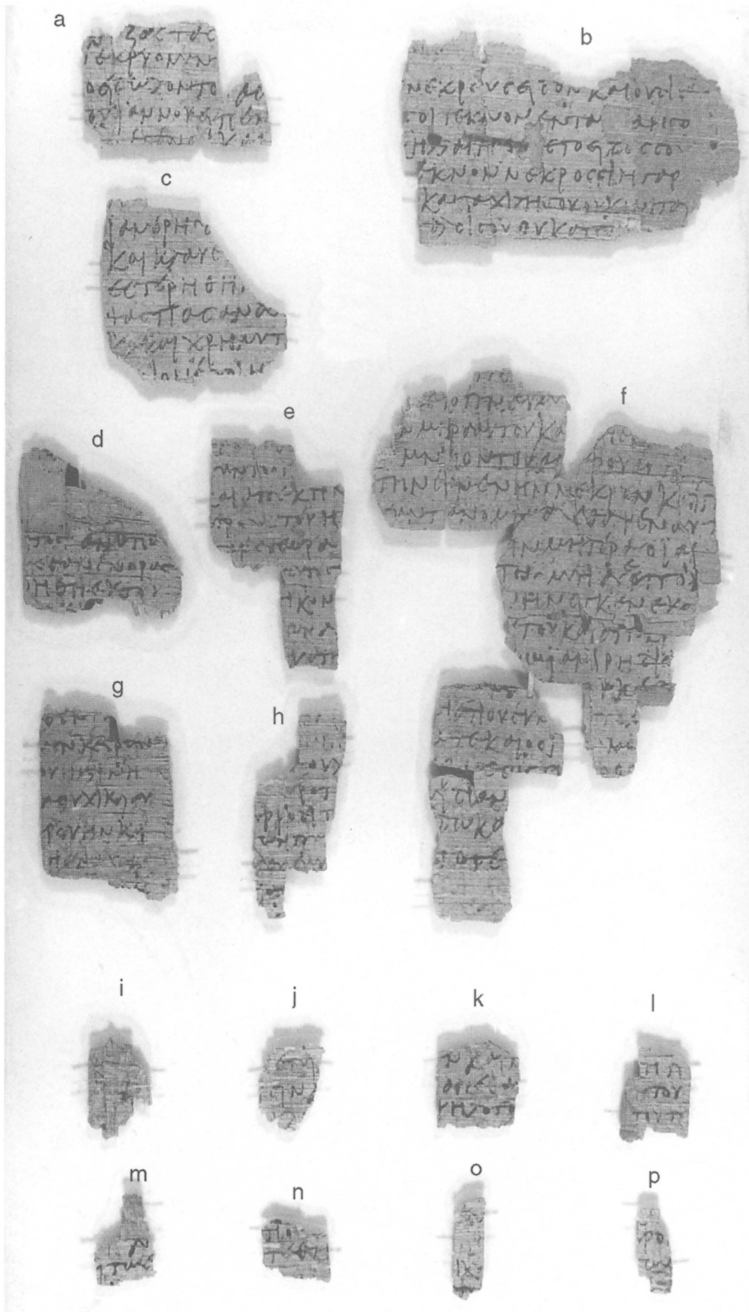


PLATE 10:5 → a-p



PLATE 11:6 ↓ a-k

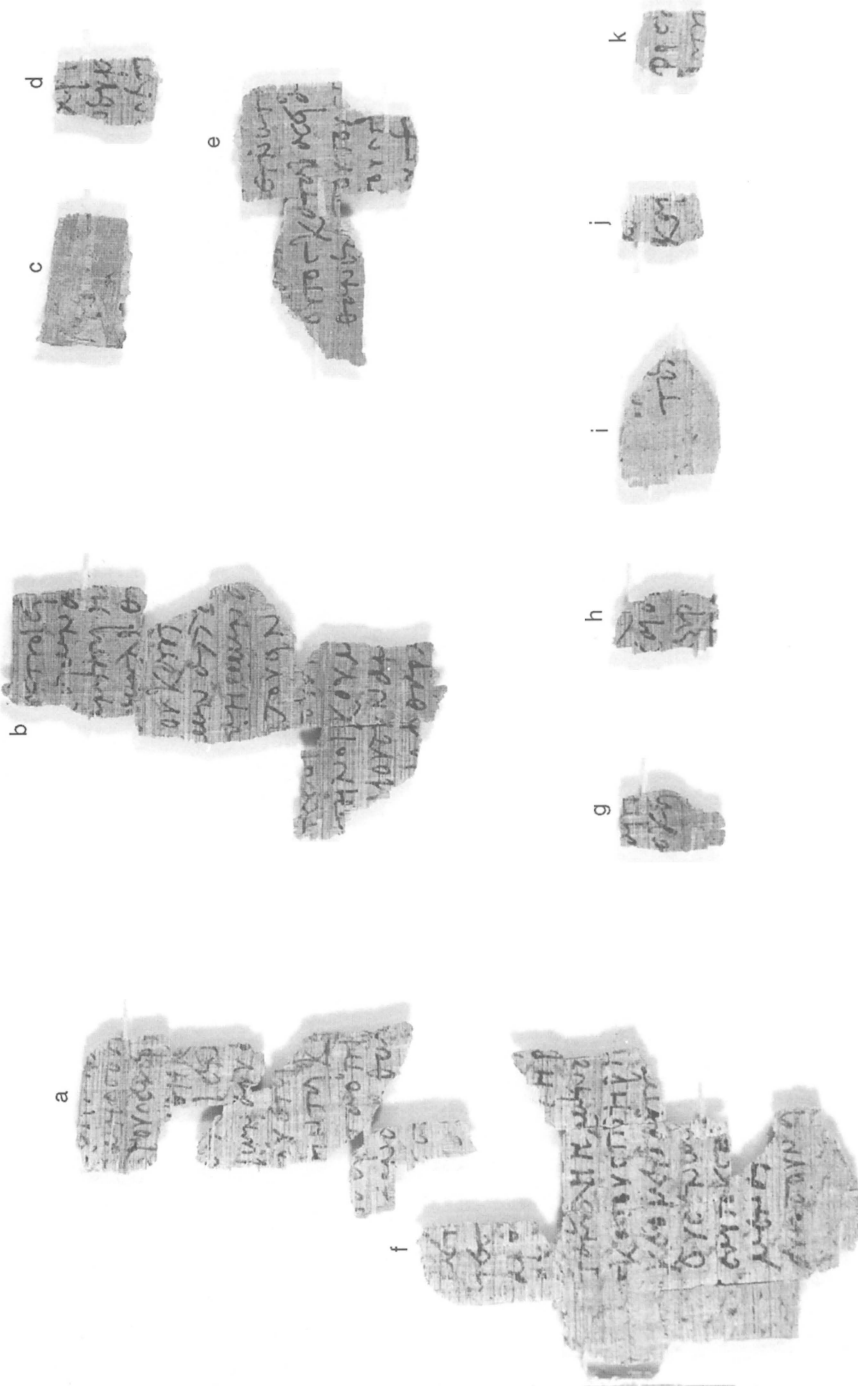


PLATE 12:6 → a-k



PLATE 13:7 ↓ a-n



PLATE 14:7 → a-n

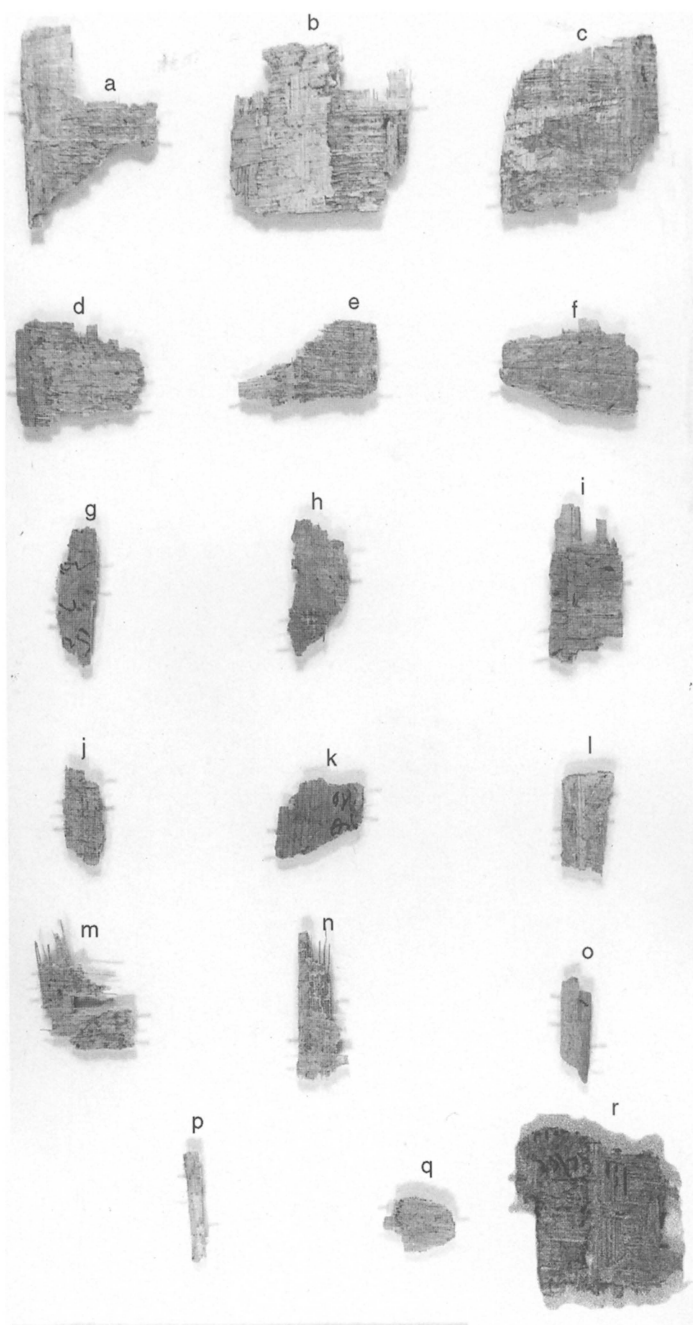


PLATE 15:8 → a-q

0 1 2 3 4 cm

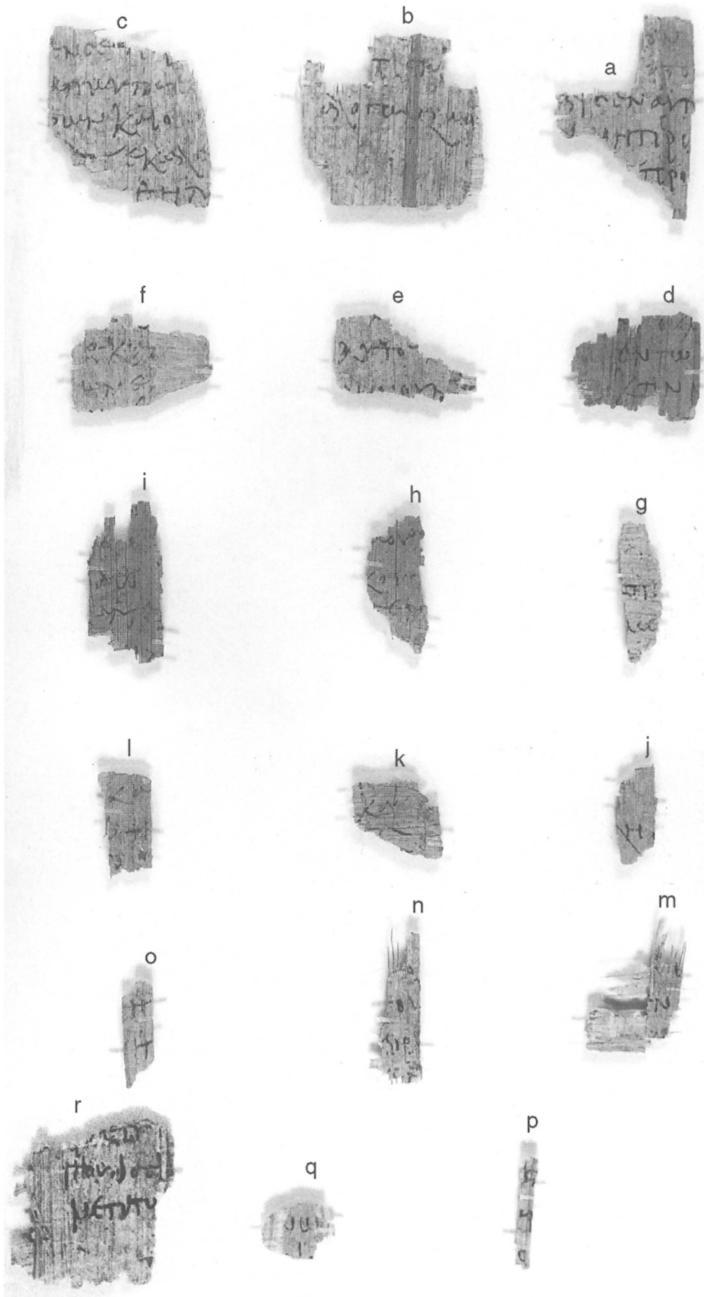
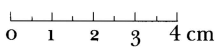


PLATE 16:8 ↓ a-q



BRIT. LIB. COTTON TIBERIUS



Aput mambres libros magicos fratres sui
iammus & fecit incromanciam & eduxit
ab inferis idolum fratres sui

Hepi regd humambres on cynde da dylican
bee hyr bpede iammey jhunge operu de pa
haigonune day deore gilder hyr bprodun

Respondit ei amina iammes dicens Ego fr
tuus in iuste mortuus su Sed uere iuste
& ibit aduersum me iudicium qm sapiencia
eram omniu sapientium magorum. Et
astiti duobus fratribus moysi & aaron qui
fecerunt signa & prodigia magna ppter hoc
mortuus sum & deductus sum de medio ad
inferos. Ubi est combustio magna & lacus
pditionis unde non e ascensus. Finis est

mi mambres. adtende tibi mura tua ut
benefacias filius tuus & amicos apud inferos
enim nihil est boni nisi tristitia & tenebre
& postquam mortuus fueris
feros in inferos fuerit ad
lata cubitas & longa cubitas quatuor
And p pade in iammey jhunge
pub p dopye ic nalt unpat dice con
ac p dlice jh hlice ic com deas
vidne standes pop ham de ic par ana
honne ealle odne dyar jic p d r o d
geb p d pium moyses harte jaapon ha
pop hant da muelan tacna j p oie bea
pop ham ic corn dead j p oie ham ic corn
on hel p aia j uce mid. h a u s j r o m m e
h a r e c a n p t e y j h a p u s s e r e a d h a r s m e
s u p l e y h a n o n n e b y d a n g a p p a d o n h u
b y o d e p m a m b r e b e h e a l d p e o n j m a m l i
p d u d o y e l j m a m b e a p u m j m u p u e
p o p h a n p e o n h e l l e n e b y d n a p i h t g o d e y
n e m d e u n p o c n y r j h y s q u j e p t e p h a m
p e d u d e a d b i s t h o n n e c y n y r p u t o h e l l e
j b e t p r d e a d u m m a m m u m b i d h m e a p o n g
f r o y m d e p o n c o p d a n j h m r e a d b i d g r e a
c u b i t a p i d j p e o p p a l a n g



PLATE 19

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INDICES OF GREEK WORDS

Text

Ἰακώβου VB5

ἀδελφός 1e + →9; 1e + ↓9; 3a + →3, 11; 4a + →13, 19; 4a + ↓21; 2h + →3; 2h + ↓3, 11; 5a + →15, 21, 22; 7a + ↓15; 7a + →9; VB4, 12, 22; VA4, 10, 12

ἄγγελος 1c + ↓9

ἄγω 3a + →1

ἄγων 4a + →8

ἄθλιος 7a + ↓8

Αἰγυπιός 1c + ↓14; 4a + ↓4, 20; 2h + →12, 15; 5d + ↓3, 22; 5d + ↓23; 6a + ↓16; VA15

Αἰθίς 2a↓8; 4a + ↓7; 5a + →20; 6a + ↓29; 6a + →15; 7a + ↓7, 25; 7a + →13, 15; VA18

αἰκίζω 3a + →12; VB6

αἶμα 3a + ↓2; VB15

αἰών 2a↓10; 6a + →7

ἀκακία 7a + ↓28

ἀκούω 5a + ↓1

ἄλλα 6a + →9; 7a + →11

ἄλλος 2a↓4; 5a + ↓3; 5a + →1

ἁμαρτάνω 7a + →7

ἄμπελος 5d + ↓4

ἀνά μέσον 6a + ↓3

ἀναξίως 7a + →5

ἀνατολή 3a + ↓16

ἀναφέρω 5a + →20

ἄνθρωπος 1e + ↓4, 8; 3a + →3

ἀντίσκημι 3a + →7, 10, 17; 7a + ↓29; VB1, 4

ἄνθρωπος 1c + →19; 1c + ↓8; 2a↓2; 4a + →11; 5d + ↓6, 15; 5d + →1

ἀνοίγω 1a + ↓2; 5a + →19

ἀπάγω 2a↓8

ἀπέρχομαι 3a + →13; 2h + →7

ἀπό 2a→13; 3a + →6; 4a + ↓7; VA18; 5a + ↓13; 6a + ↓25; 7a + ↓22

ἀποδίδωμι 6a + →29; 7a + →11

ἀποθλίβω 1c + ↓14

ἀποθνήσκω 4a + ↓15; 5d + ↓14, 26, 28; 5d + →2, 12; 6a + ↓26

ἀποκρίνομαι 1e + ↓1; 5a + ↓17; 5a + →21

ἀποκτείνω 5d + →19

ἀπολείπω 1e + ↓4, 7

ἀπόλλυμι 2h + →10; 2h + ↓1

ἀποστέλλω 4a + →11; VA2

ἀποτρέχω 1c + →15

ἄπτομαι 1a + ↓4; 5a + →6; 6a + →8

ἀπώλεια 7a + ↓3

ἀρνέομαι VB20

ἄρρωστέω 4a + ↓6; VA17

ἄρτι 3a + →5

ἀρχιτέκτων 1c + ↓16

ἄστηρ 3a + ↓11

ἀστράγαλος 5a + →6

ἀστραπή 2a→11

ἀσχολέω 5a + ↓18

αὖριον 3a + ↓8

αὐτός, κτλ. 1a + →1; 1a + ↓2, 3, 4;

1c + →10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17; 1c + ↓5,

6, 10, 18, 19; 1e + →6, 7, 9;

1e + →10; 1e + ↓4, 5; 2a→5, 10;

2a↓6, 11, 12; 3a + →5, 11, 13,

21; 3a + ↓1, 16; 4a + →2, 4, 10, 15,

19; 4a + ↓5, 12, 13, 21; 2h + →3, 9;

2h + ↓1, 3, 11, 18; 5a + ↓8, 12, 13,

14, 21; 5a + →13, 14, 15, 17, 21;

5d + ↓27, 28; 5d + →20; 7a + ↓4, 5;

7a + →10; VB5, 6, 12, 13, 14, 16, 22;

VA1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11

ἀφίημι 1c + ↓10, 18; 4a + →16; 6a + ↓24; VA8

ἄφιλος 2h + ↓9

ἀφίστημι 5a + ↓14

ἄφρων 2a→9

βαρύνω 6a + ↓14

βάσανος 7a + ↓32

βασιλεύς 1a + →2, 4; 1c + →3; 3a +

→6, 10, 15; 4a + →7; 4a + ↓3, 13;

2h + →8; 5a + ↓2; 5d + ↓13, 22; 7a +

↓6, 25; VB4, 9; VA14

βιβλιοθήκη 2a→14

βιβλίον 5a + →19

βίβλος 1a + →1; 4a + →20; VA12

βλέπω 1a + ↓3

βούλομαι 7a + →8

βρόντης 2a→11

γάμος 3a + →1

- γάρ 1c + →7, 18; 5a + ↓9; 5a + →4;
 6a + ↓9, 28; 6a + →14; 7a + ↓4; 7a +
 →2; VB19
 γενεά 3a + ↓5; ↓12, 17
 γῆ 1a + ↓4; 2a ↓7; 7a + ↓30
 γιγνώσκω 4a + →12; 6a + ↓7; 6a + →
 14; VA2
 γίνομαι 2a →8, 10; 2a ↓9; 3a + →9;
 2h + →14; 5a + →23; 7a + ↓3; VB3
 γλυπτός 7a + ↓3
 γραφή 4a + →21; VA12
 γράφω 1a + →2
 γυνή 1e + ↓5, 7; 7a + →12

 δαιμόνιον 5a + ↓25
 δάκρυ 4a + →15, 16; VA7, 8
 δανείζω 7a + ↓9
 δανειστής 7a + ↓14
 δέ 1c + →10, 12, 14, 18; 1c + ↓12, 13,
 15; 1e + →2; 2a →8, 10; 2a ↓4, 5, 11;
 3a + →3, 5, 9, 12; 3a + ↓1, 9, 12, 15;
 4a + →6, 11, 13, 16, 19; 4a + ↓6, 18;
 2h + →15; 2h + ↓4, 10; 5a + ↓3, 6,
 12, 16, 17; 5a + →3; 6a + ↓22, 23, 24;
 6a + →11; 7a + ↓23; VB3, 6, 12, 15;
 VA2, 4, 7, 10, 17
 δεῖ 6a + ↓7
 δεκατέσσαρες 2a ↓13
 δῆ 4a + →21; VA12
 διά 5a + ↓15; 5a + →22, 24, 27; 6a + ↓
 16; VB21
 διακομίζω 5a + →14
 διαφθείρω 6a + →15
 διδωμι 3a + ↓7; 5a + →28
 δίκαιος 7a + ↓27
 διό 3a + →17
 διώκω 4a + ↓4; VA15
 δόλιος 3a + ↓13
 δοῦλος 7a + ↓25
 δύναμαι 5a + ↓15; 5a + →24; 6a + →
 14; VB10
 δύναμις 2a →15; 3a + →16; VB9
 δυνατός 7a + ↓31
 δύο 2a ↓2, 4, 11; 6a + ↓4
 δυσμή 3a + ↓11

 εἶν 1c + ↓12; 6a + →11
 εαυτοῦ, κτλ. 4a + →17; 2h + →16;
 5d + →13; 6a + ↓6; 6a + →27
 Ἑβραῖος 3a + →4, 8; 4a + ↓4; 2h + →
 10; 2h + →13; VB1; VA16,
 ἐγγίζω 6a + ↓13
 ἐγώ 1c + ↓12, 14; 1e + ↓9; 3a + →17;
- 4a + →12, 13; 5a + ↓4, 8, 18, 20;
 5a + →25; 6a + ↓20; 7a + ↓15; VA3,
 4
 ἔδρα 3a + →14; VB7
 εἶδος 5a + →3
 εἶδωλον 5a + →21; 7a + ↓2, 4, 5
 εἶλαρ 2a →7, 13
 εἰμί 1a + →2; 1c + ↓8, 13; 2a →15;
 2a ↓5, 12; 4a + ↓17; 2h + ↓2; 5a + →2;
 5d + ↓5; 6a + ↓4, 11, 15; VB10
 εἶπερ 3a + →5
 εἰς 1c + →17; 1c + ↓14; 2a →14; 2a ↓8,
 10; 3a + →14; 3a + ↓8; 4a + →20;
 5a + →15; 6a + →7, 10; 6a + →15;
 VB7, 11; VA11
 ἐκ 2a →11; 5a + →20; 5d + →3
 ἑκατόν 2h + ↓13, 14, 15
 ἐκείνος 3a + →12; VB5
 ἐκλείπω 5a + →13
 ἐκριζώω 2a →12
 ἐλαία 5d + ↓24
 ἔλκος 3a + →13; VB7
 ἐν 1a + →2; 2a →5; 2a ↓12; 3a + ↓2, 5;
 4a + ↓1, 2; VA13, 14; 2h + →11, 15;
 5d + →25; 6a + ↓16; 7a + ↓7, 25, 28;
 7a + →13; VB15
 ἐναντίως 2a ↓5
 ἐνδύω 2a ↓3
 ἐνεργέω 3a + →16
 ἐνταῦθα 5a + →2
 ἐνύπνιον 1c + →14
 ἐξάλλασσω 5a + →3
 ἐξέρχομαι 4a + →15; 4a + ↓2; VA7,
 13, 14
 ἐξετάζω 3a + ↓10
 ἐπέρχομαι 2a ↓2
 ἐπί 1a + →2; 1c + →10; 7a + ↓10
 ἐπιδιώκω 2h + →9
 ἐπιθυμέω 1c + →15
 ἐπίσκοπος 2a ↓7
 ἐπισπλαγχνίζομαι 2a ↓10
 ἐπτά 2a →4; 3a + →2
 ἔρκος 1e + →3
 ἐρυθρός 2h + →11
 ἐρχομαι 1c + →9, 10; 3a + →7; 3a + ↓
 15; 4a + ↓14; 2h + ↓3; 5a + ↓18, 21;
 5d + →20; VB8
 ἔτερος 1e + ↓9, 6a + →8; 7a + →3
 ἔτι 2a ↓12; 3a + →13; 5a + →23; VB6
 ἐτοιμάζω 3a + ↓4; VB18
 ἔτος 1c + ↓11
 εὐειδής 1a + →3
 εὐθέως 3a + →12; VB6

εὐρίσκω VB8

ἐφιορκέω 7a + 13

ἔχω 1a + -3; 1c + -9; 2a14; 4a + 11;
2h + 117; VA13

ἔως 5a + -26; 7a + 13

ἦ 5d + 124; 7a + -8, 15

ἦδη 2a-7; 3a + 111; VB19

ἦδύς 7a + -7

ἦμαι 5a + -2

ἦμεῖς 2a18; 3a + 14; 4a + 110; 6a + 1
24; 6a + -6, 10; 6a + -23; VB18

ἡμέρα 1c + -13; 2a-4; 3a + -1;
4a + -11; 4a + 12; VA2, 14

θάλασσα 2h + -11

θάλλω 2a-6

θάνατος 1e + -8; 3a + -1; 3a + 114;
4a + 17; 4a + 19; VB6, 11; VA18

θάπτω 5a + -17

θαυμάζω 3a + -9; 5a + 17; VB2

θέλω 3a + -17

θεός 1c + 19; 3a + -16; 4a + 18; 7a +
13, 6; VB10; VA19

θλίψις 1c + 113

Ἰάμβρης 1a + -1; 1c + 14; e + 14, 9;
4a + -3, 13, 21; 2h + -15; 2h + 13;
5a + -7, 18, 22; 7a + -9

Ἰάννης 1a + -1; c + -14; 1c + 115;
1e + -9; e + 16; 2a-2, 8, 14; 3a + -
10; 4a + -6; 2h + 14, 10; 5a + -22

ἴσσις 1e + -4

ἴδιος 1c + -17; 1e + 18

ἰσότης 7a + 116, 27

ἴστημι 5a + 113

ἰσχύω 7a + 19

Ἰωάμβρης VB12; VA4

Ἰωάννης 5a + 11; VB12

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καί 1a + -1; 1a + 11, 2; 1c + -8, 11,
13, 15; 1c + 17, 8, 9, 16, 17; 1e + 14,
6, 8; 2a-3, 5; 2a12, 3, 6, 7, 9, 13;
3a + -1, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 21;
3a + 16, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16;
4a + -2, 3, 13, 14, 16; 4a + 11, 3, 6,
7, 11, 17; 18; 2h + -1, 2, 10, 13, 14;
2h + 11, 2, 9; 15; 5a + 14, 7, 8, 13,
20; 5a + -1, 5, 6, 8, 11, 14, 15, 16,
20, 21, 23, 25, 27; 5d + 113, 23, 25;
5d + -11, 19, 23, 24; 6a + 14, 16,

27, 29; 6a + -9, 14, 29; 7a + 11, 2, 8,
9; 7a + -7, 13; VB2, 4, 5, 7, 13, 17;
VA3, 4, 5, 8, 13, 14, 17

καιρός 1c + 112

καίω 6a + 17; 6a + -25

κακός 6a + 19

κάμηλος 2h + 115

καρδία 3a + 113

κατά 3a + 115; 4a + -11; VA1

καταβαίνω 6a + 115, 23; 6a + -15

καταλείπω 1c + -11

κατάραμα 4a + 111

καταφιλέω VA6

κατέγκλημα 4a + -12; VA3

κατοικητήριον 6a + 13

κέδρος 5d + -21

κελεύω 2a-8

κινδυνεύω 3a + 12; VB15

κινέω 5a + -5

κλάδος 2a-7, 13

κλαίω 5a + -8

κλαυθμός 2h + -14

κοινωνός 2a19

κοίτη 1e + 18

κολλάω 1e + 18

κράζω 5a + 13

κραυάζω 5a + 124

κυπάρισσος 1c + -10, 13

κύριος 2a17

κωφός 6a + 129

λαλέω 1a + 13

λαμβάνω 4a + -20; VA11

λάβρα 1c + -10

λαός 4a + 14; 2h + -9, 13; VA15

λέγω 1c + 16; 1e + -5; 1e + 14; 1e + 1
4, 6; 2a16; 3a + -7, 15; VB9; 3a + 1
12, 14, 15, 16; 4a + -6, 21; 4a + 12;
2h + -2; 2h + 11; 5a + 13, 13, 16,
18, 21; 5a + -22; VA12

λευκοφορέω 2a111

λίαν 5a + 119

λίθος 6a + -7

λόγος 1a + -1

λοιπός 2a19

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μαδάω 4a + -2

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μακράν 5a + 113

μέγας 2a-10; 2h + -14

- μεγιστάν 4a + 13; 5d + 113; VA15
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 Μέμφις 1a + -2; 4a + -20; VA11
 μεστός 1c + -8
 μετά 1c + 111; 3a + -3, 14; 2h + -8
 μετέπειτα 2a 13
 μετέωρος 5d + -21
 μή 1c + -17; 1e + 13; 3a + 11, 6;
 4a + 12; 5a + 14; 7a + -10; VB11,
 14, 16; VA13
 μηδέ 4a + 15; VA16
 μηκέτι 4a + -9
 μηκος 6a + 15
 μηλέα 2a -9; 5a + -19
 μήποτε 4a + -10; VA1
 μήτηρ 1c + -4, 5, 15; 1e + -10;
 3a + -21; 4a + -18; 4a + 110, 14;
 5a + 13, 6, 11, 14, 16, 18; 5a + -14,
 18; VB13; VA10
 μμνήσκω 1e + 13; 3a + 11; VB14
 μνημείον 5a + -15
 μου 2h + 11, 2
 μυστήριον 4a + 11; VA13
 Μωσής 3a + -8, 11; VB1, 4

 νεανίας/νεανίσκος 1a + -3
 νεκρομαντεία 5a + -20
 νεκρός 2a 19; 5a + -1, 4, 16; 6a + 14
 νόμιμος 5a + -17
 νοσέω 4a + -4
 νύν 6a + 124

 ό, κτλ. 1a + -1, 2, 4; 1a + 12, 4;
 1c + -3, 4, 6, 13, 14, 15, 17, 20;
 1c + 15, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, 17; 1e + -6,
 7, 9, 10; 1e + 12, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; 2a -2,
 3, 5, 6, 8, 13, 14, 15; 2a 16, 7, 10, 11,
 12; 3a + -1, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15,
 16, 2; 3a + 12, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15;
 4a + -2, 6, 7, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18,
 19, 20, 21; 4a + 12, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9,
 10, 14, 21; 2h + -3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12,
 13, 15, 16, 17; 2h + 11, 2, 8, 11, 17;
 5a + 11, 2, 3, 4, 6, 11, 12, 15, 16;
 5a + -3, 4, 5, 6, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17,
 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25; 5d + 14, 13,
 14, 22, 24; 5d + -3, 21; 6a + 14, 7,
 16, 18, 22, 28, 29; 6a + -4, 7, 8, 10,
 13, 23; 7a + 11, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14,
 25, 26, 30, 31; 7a + -4, 5, 12, 13,
 15; VB1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 12, 13, 15, 19,
 22; VA2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, 14, 15, 17,
 18, 19

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 οίδα 4a + -3
 οίκοδόμος 1c + 116
 οίκος 2a -5; 2a 12; 5a + -25; 6a + 1
 18
 οίκουμένη 6a + -13
 όκτώ 1c + -13
 όλος 2h + 12
 όμοιος 1c + -19
 όνειδιζω 5a + 120
 όπίσω 6a + -10
 όπου 2a -15
 όράω 1c + -7; 2a -5, 13; 2a 12; 3a +
 112, 15; 5a + -1
 όρθόω 1c + -12
 όρκος 2h + 18
 όσος 3a + -12; 7a + 110, 23; VB5
 όστις, κτλ. 1e + 17
 όταν 1c + 114
 ότε 4a + -1
 ότι 1c + 16; 3a + 11; 7a + -13; VB15,
 20
 ού, κτλ. 1a + 12, 3, 4; 5a + 115; 5a +
 -5, 6, 23, 24; 5d + 14, 23; 5d + -
 23; 6a + 18, 14, 24; 6a + -8, 14;
 7a + 19, 11, 12, 13, 17, 20; 7a + -10;
 VB10, 20
 ούδέ 6a + 15, 10, 11, 12, 25; 7a + 112,
 25; 7a + -4, 14
 ούδεις 3a + 116; 5a + -1; 7a + 17;
 7a + -6; VB10
 ούδενόω 6a + -26
 ούν 3a + 13; VB16
 ούρανός 2a -11; 4a + 18; VA19
 ούτε 7a + 14, 5, 11
 ούτος, κτλ. 1c + 112; 1e + -5; 2a -
 13; 3a + -3, 15; 3a + 117; 6a + -15,
 16; 7a + 110, 14; VB9
 όφθαλμός 1c + -20

 παραγγέλλω 1c + -17; 1c + 115
 παράδεισος 1c + 117
 παρακαλέω 1c + -16; 3a + -21;
 4a + -18; VB13; VA9
 παρακούω 1c + -14
 παραλαμβάνω 4a + -19; VA10
 παραπλήσιος 5a + -2
 παρατίθημι 4a + 11
 πάρεμι 3a + -6
 παρηγορέω 5a + 12
 πās 1c + 115; 1e + 14, 7; 2a -1, 3; 2a 1
 8; 3a + -2, 9; 3a + 15; 4a + -17;

- 2h + →15; 5a + ↓2; 5a + →6, 17;
 VB2; VA9
 πέμπω 2a↓8; 3a + →15, 16; VB8
 περί 1c + →18; 1e + →10; 3a + ↓3,
 14; 5a + ↓1; VB17
 περιλαμβάνω 4a + →17; VA8
 περιποιέω 2a→4
 περιτειχέω 1c + ↓17
 πήχυς 6a + ↓4,5
 πικραίνω 4a + →10; VA1
 πιστώς 4a + →14; VA5
 πλανάω 5a + ↓26
 πλάτος 6a + ↓4
 πλήρης 6a + →24
 πλίσσω 4a + →13; VA3
 πλούσιος 7a + ↓25
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 ποιέω 3a + →8, 12; 5a + →12; 5a + →
 12, 16, 19, 24; 6a + →4; VB1, 5
 ποῖος 3a + ↓10
 πόλεμος 5d + ↓10
 πολὺς 1c + →18; 2a→6; 5a + ↓16
 πονηρός 1e + →3; 7a + →13; VB7
 πορεύομαι 1c + →16; 4a + →20; VA11
 πόρνη 7a + →6, 16
 πόσος 3a + ↓15
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